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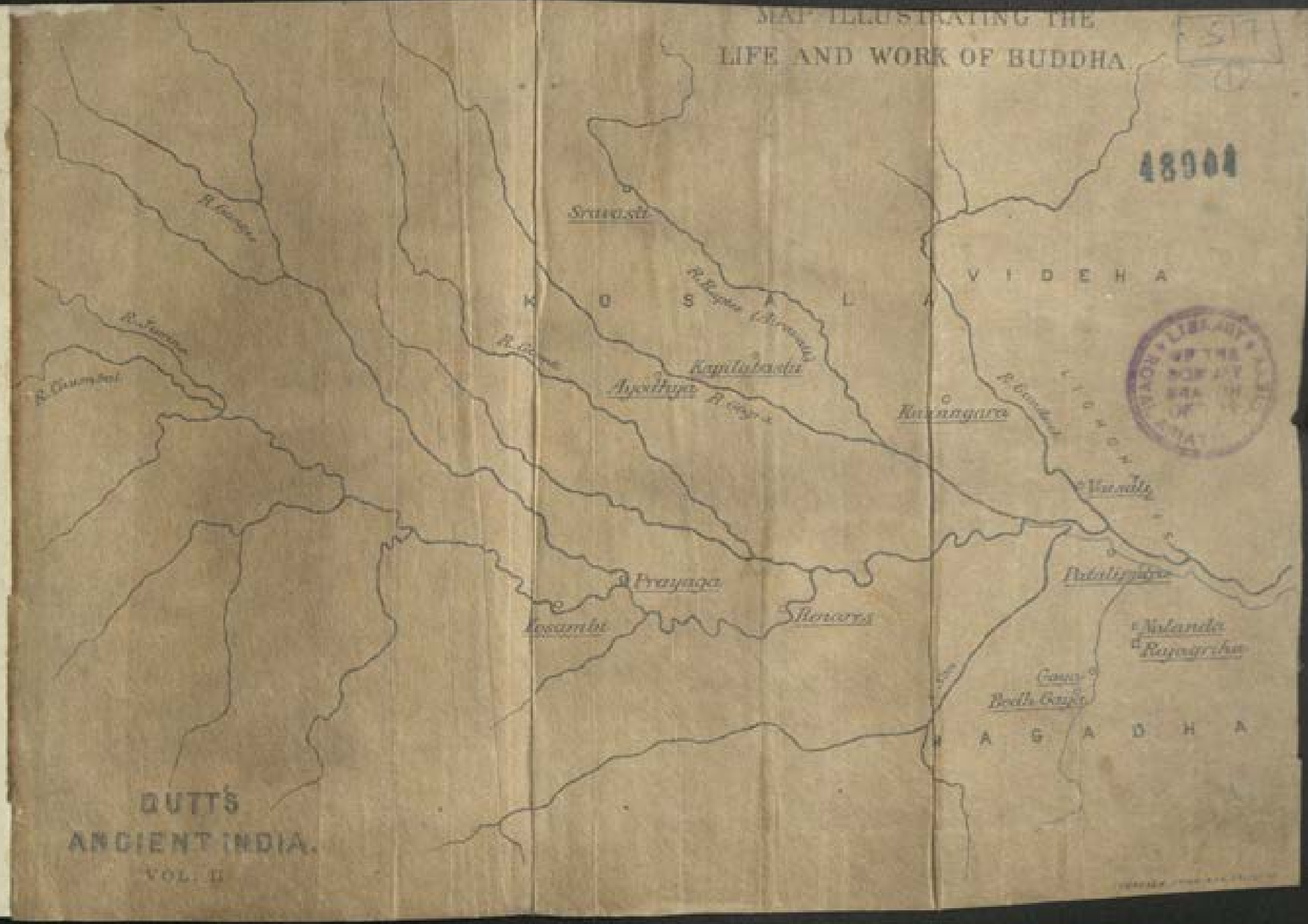
MAP ILLUSTRATING THE
LIFE AND WORK OF BUDDHA
48904
R. Ganges
R. Kapila (Rohini)
R. Ganges
R. Ganges
R. Ganges
R. Gandaki
R. Gandaki
Sravasti
Kapilavastu
Ayodhya
Kusinagara
Vaisali
Pataliputra
Prayaga
Kosambi
Benares
Nalanda
Rajagriha
Gaya
Bodh Gaya
KOSALA
VIDEHA
MAGADHA
DUTT'S
ANCIENT INDIA.
VOL. II

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PREFACE TO VOLUME II.

A GREAT work has been recently completed. An English translation of the Rig Veda Sanhitâ, which was commenced by Dr. H. H. Wilson many years ago, has lately been brought to completion by Professor E. B. Cowell of Cambridge, and Mr. W. F. Webster. I only regret I had not the advantage of consulting the last portions of this work before my chapters on the *Vedic Age* passed through the press.

Dr. Wilson's translation is based, as is well known mainly on Sâyana's interpretation of the Veda. Sâyana has his mistakes, but is invaluable in spite of them, and no translator can afford to overlook or to neglect the traditional Hindu interpretation of the ancient Hindu work. The most recent as well as the most scholarlike translation of the Rig Veda is the German translation of Ludwig; and his translation comes closer to Sâyana than many previous attempts to translate the Veda into European languages.

The literature of the second or *Epic Age* has not received the same degree of attention as the Veda. With regard to the Epics themselves, it will probably ever remain a hopeless task to separate the portions

which are genuine and ancient from those which are later additions. The whole of the Mahâbhârata and the Râmâyana, as we find them now, has been recast in modern Sanscrit, and language therefore is no indication as to the dates of the different portions. Nevertheless, patient criticism and a careful comparison with the contemporaneous literature of the Epic or Brâhmana Period can effect much. And it is possible by such means to point to many details in the History, the Geography, the Religious beliefs, and the Social customs narrated in the Epics, which are undoubtedly of an ancient age.

Many of the Brâhmanas and Âranyakas have been edited, and some have been translated. The old and genuine Upanishads have been several times published in India with vernacular translations, and since the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy several of them have been translated into European languages from the original Sanscrit. Professor Max Müller's translation of them in a collected form is the latest,—and will be useful to English readers.

The third or *Rationalistic Age* forms the subject of the present volume. For an account of the Hindu life and social manners of this period, the Dharma Sûtras and the Greek accounts of India should be read together. In the Dharma Sûtras we see the ancient Hindus as they saw themselves, in the Greek accounts we see them as others saw them. In the former the Hindus paint themselves, in the latter they are painted by civilized

and careful and friendly foreigners. There is a close resemblance between the two pictures,—and a comparison of them gives us a correct and very favourable idea of the ancient Hindus, their manners, and their civilization.

Hindu Philosophy, properly so-called, is to be found in the Mental Philosophy of Kapila and the Logic of Gautama. The former has received much attention in Europe, and some of the latest systems of German and French Philosophy are a reproduction in a more elaborate form of the Sânkhya Philosophy of Ancient India. Hindu Logic has not received the same attention from scholars, and there is room for researches on this subject. It is to be hoped that the want will be soon supplied, and that duly qualified scholars will give us a thorough exposition of Hindu logic, based on the ancient text and commentaries.

My account of Buddhism has been condensed as far as possible,—but nevertheless fills a good portion of the present volume. It is essential, however, to grasp the principles of the religion, in order to comprehend the history of India during eight centuries during which Buddhism was the prevailing religion of India. It is still the prevailing religion of Asia, and recent researches disclose to us its intimate connexion with the religion of Europe. In treating this subject, I have followed the same method as in the other portions of my work, and have furnished my readers with copious extracts from the texts on which my conclusions are based.

In conclusion, it is my pleasing duty to acknowledge the help which I received, while this second volume was passing through the press, from my esteemed friends, Mr. G. A. Grierson, of the Bengal Civil Service, and Pundit Hara Prasad Sastri, M.A., Librarian to the Bengal Government. As labourers in the field of Indian antiquities, both these scholars are doing useful and valuable work, and they have kindly and cordially rendered help to a fellow-labourer in the same field. I am indebted to them for many valuable hints and much useful information.

One more honored name I may be permitted to add. My sincere acknowledgments are due to Sir Steuart Bayley for the great interest he has evinced in my unambitious little work, and for the very kind and favourable opinion with which he has honored the first volume.

MYMENSING DISTRICT,
BENGAL,
1st June 1889.

R. C. DUTT.

BOOK III.

RATIONALISTIC PERIOD, B. C., 1000 TO 242.

CHAPTER I.

LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD.

A CHANGE came over the spirit of the Hindu world in the third period, and the change is reflected in the Sûtra literature of India. The Vindhya range was the extreme southern limit of the Hindu world in the Epic Period; but now the Hindus crossed that chain of mountains, and penetrated beyond the wastes and jungles of Central India and founded powerful Hindu kingdoms on the banks of the Godâvarî, and the Krishnâ, extending to the blue waters of the ocean. In the east the kingdom of Magadha rose to power and greatness, and threw out colonies into Bengal and Orissa, and in the west the kingdom of Saurâshtra extended its limits to the Arabian Sea. This expansion of the Hindu world had its effect on the Hindu mind; Hindus became more practical and more venturesome, and their ideas became more expanded. Whatever literature was handed down from ancient times was put in a condensed, practical shape, and new discoveries in every department of

science were made with the boldness of new explorers and conquerors.

The practical spirit of the age shewed itself in the form which literature assumed. All learning, all sciences, all religious teaching were reduced to concise practical manuals. Brevity is the characteristic of the Sûtra literature as verbosity is of the Brâhmana literature. Indeed, the writers went from one extreme to another; verbose prose was replaced by aphorisms, and the proverbial saying which applies to the Sûtra literature is often quoted that "An author rejoiceth in the economising of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son!"

One main reason which led to this extreme conciseness was that young Hindu students were expected in their early years to learn these Sûtras by rote. Aryan boys were expected to place themselves under some teacher at the early age of eight or ten or twelve, and for twelve years or more they remained in their teacher's house, doing menial services under him, begging alms for him, and learning day by day the ancestral religion by rote. The diffuse details of the Brâhmanas were therefore compressed into short treatises in order that they might be imparted and learnt with ease, and a separate body of Sûtras was thus composed for each Sûtra charana or school. The names of the authors of many of these compositions have been handed down to us, and while the Vedas and the Brâhmanas are declar-

ed to be *revealed*, no such claim is put forward for the Sûtras, which are admitted to be human compositions. The so-called *revealed* literature of India closes therefore with the Upanishads, which form the last portions of the Brâhmanas.

When once the Sûtras began to be composed, the system spread rapidly all over India, and Sûtra schools multiplied. The Châranyavyûha names five charanas of the Rig Veda, twenty-seven of the Black Yajur Veda, fifteen of the White Yajur Veda, twelve of the Sâma Veda, and nine of the Atharva Veda. Each Sûtra charana must have had a separate body of Sûtras for itself, and the adherents of any particular charana,—in whatever part of India they might live, learnt and imparted to students the Sûtras of that particular school. A vast mass of Sûtra literature thus gradually sprung up in India, but of the numerous bodies of Sûtras which must have been composed and taught in these numerous Sûtra charanas a lamentably small number has been left to us! As with the Brâhmanas, so with the Sûtras, a limited number of works have only been saved from the shipwreck of ancient Sanskrit literature.

We will now rapidly survey the different branches of learning which gradually assumed the Sûtra form, and we will begin with religion. Details of ceremonials relating to Vedic sacrifices were compressed into concise manuals, and these manuals are called *Srauta Sûtras*. Two collections of these Srauta Sûtras belonging to the

Rig Veda called Âsvalâyana and Sânkhâyana, three belonging to the Sâma Veda and called Mâsaka, Lâtyâyana and Drâhyâyana, four belonging to the older or Black Yajur Veda and called Baudhâyana, Bhâradvâja, Âpastamba and Hiranyakesin, and one belonging to the new or White Yajur Veda and called Kâtyâyana, have been left entire. An account of these Srauta Sûtras will not be interesting to our readers, but nevertheless, some facts about them deserve mention.

The Âsvalâyana Sûtra is divided into twelve chapters. Âsvalâyana is said to have been the pupil of the celebrated Saunaka, and the teacher and pupil are said to have been the joint authors of the last two books of the Aitareya Âranyaka. Hermann Oldenberg points out, however, that the fourth book of this Âranyaka is extremely short, and consists of verses which probably belong to an ancient age, while the fifth or last book is in genuine Sûtra style and was the work of Saunaka and Asvalâyana. Whichever view is accepted, the facts clearly point to the interesting conclusion that the earliest works of the Sûtra literature connect themselves with the last works of the Brâhmana or Epic Period.

Saunaka is indeed an interesting figure towards the close of the Epic Period. In an anterior state of existence he is said to have been the "seer" of the second book of the Rig Veda, and by this legend we may probably understand that he belonged to the line of teachers or families by whom the book of the Rig

Veda was handed down from century to century. Saunaka was again the priest of Janamejaya Pârikshita in the famous horse-sacrifice which he celebrated. We may infer therefore that a line of Saunakas were celebrated priests and men of learning in the Epic Period. No wonder that the earliest compilers of Sûtras connect themselves with this honored name as pupils.

The Sânkhâyana Srauta Sûtra consists of 18 chapters. Professor Weber conjectures that this Sûtra belongs to the Western part of Hindustan, as the Âsvalâyana belongs to the eastern.

Of the Sâma Veda the Mâsaka Srauta Sûtra is only a tabular enumeration of prayers belonging to different ceremonies, the Sâtyâyana embodies the opinions of various teachers, and both these Sûtras connect themselves with the great Tândya or Panchavinsa Brâhmana of the Sâma Veda. The Drâhyâyana differs but little from the Sâtyâyana.

The Sûtras of the Black Yajur Veda have been chronologically arranged as those of Baudhâyana, Bhâradvâja, Âpastamba, and Hiranyakesin, and Dr. Bühler, who has recovered the lost Bhâradvâja Sûtra, justly remarks that the distance in years between Baudhâyana and Âpastamba must be measured not by decades, but by centuries. In a most valuable introduction to his translation of the Dharma Sûtra of Âpastamba, Dr. Bühler states that a powerful Hindu kingdom, *i.e.*, of the Andhras, had been founded in Southern India before

the Christian era, that the capital of the empire was probably situated near modern Amarâvatî on the river Krishnâ, that Âpastamba was probably born or naturalized in this country and founded his Sûtra school there, and that the date of his work cannot be put down later than the third century before Christ. And as Âpastamba speaks not only of the six Vedângas, but also of the Pûrva Mimânsa and the Vedânta schools of philosophy, we can conclude that the philosophical schools of India had begun their work previous to that date. He conjectures that Baudhâyana also was born and worked in Southern India.

The Srauta Sûtra of the White Yajur Veda is in 26 chapters and is by Kâtyâyana, who also claims to be a pupil of the renowned Saunaka. Kâtyâyana was a critic of Panini the grammarian, and lived, according to Max Müller, in the fourth century before Christ. An interesting "battle of books" has been waged by scholars about the date of Pânini, but we must avoid entering into the arena reserved for doughty scholars, and only express our assent to the prevailing opinion that the grammarian must have lived some centuries before his critic. The Kâtyâyana Sûtra strictly follows the Satapatha Brâhmana, and the first 18 chapters of the Sûtra correspond with the first nine books of the Brâhmana. As in Lâtyâyana so in Kâtyâyana we find allusion to Mâgadhadesîya Brahmabandhu, who are supposed to be the first Buddhists.

We turn with pleasure from the Srauta Sûtras to the *Dharma Sûtras*, which present to us the customs and manners and laws of the times, and are, therefore, far more valuable for our historical purpose. In the Srauta Sûtras we see the Hindus as worshippers and sacrificers; in the Dharma Sûtras we see them as citizens.

But the Dharma Sûtras of this ancient period have a still further claim to our attention, because they are the originals which have been modified and copied and put into verse at a later age and transformed into those law-books with which modern Hindus are familiar, such as Manu, Yâjnavalkya, Parâsara, &c. This was pointed out by Professor Max Müller thirty years ago, and the researches which have been made since have fully confirmed the fact. A world of conjectures and fancies about the Code of Manu being the work of legislators and rulers, has been exploded by this discovery, and we now know what the so-called codes are, and how and why they were framed. In their original Sûtra form (often in prose, sometimes in prose and verse,—but never in continuous verse like the later codes), they were composed, just as the Srauta Sûtras were composed, by the founders of the Sûtra charanas, and were learnt by rote by young Hindus, so that they might, in later life, never forget their duties as citizens and as members of society. No nation has taken geater precautions than the Hindus to implant in the mind of every member of society his religious, social and legal duties.

Among the Dharma Sûtras which are lost, and have not yet been recovered, was the Mânava Sûtra or Sûtra of Manu, from which the later metrical Code of Manu has been compiled. It seems that the Dharma Sûtra of Manu was held in high honor in the Sûtra Period, as the metrical Code of Manu is held in honor in the present day. The references to Manu are frequent in the Sûtra literature, and Dr. Bühler has pointed out two quotations from Manu in Vasishtha and Gautama's Dharma Sûtras, to which we will allude further on.

Among the Dharma Sûtras still extant, Vasishtha belonging to the Rig Veda, Gautama belonging to the Sama Veda, and Baudhâyana and Âpastamba belonging to the Black Yajur Veda, have been translated by Dr. Bühler.

In point of time Gautama is the oldest, and we find Baudhâyana transferring a whole chapter of Gautama's into his Sûtra, and Vasishtha again has borrowed the same chapter from Baudhâyana. And we have seen before that Âpastamba also comes after Baudhâyana.

We have spoken of the Srauta Sûtras which treat of the duties of a worshipper, and of the Dharma Sûtras which treat of the duties of a citizen. But man has other duties and responsibilities beyond those of a worshipper and a citizen. As a son, a brother, a husband, and a father, he has duties to perform towards the members of his family. He has little rites to perform in connexion with domestic occurrences, which are quite

different from the more elaborate ceremonials taught in the Srauta Sûtras. A distinct class of rules was necessary to fix the details of these Grihya or domestic rites, and these rules are given in the *Grihya Sûtras*.

A great deal of interest attaches to these simple domestic rites performed at the domestic fireside, and not at the hearths which had to be specially lighted at great sacrifices. The domestic fire was lighted by each householder on his marriage, and the simple rites, the Pâkayajnas, were easily performed. "A log of wood," says Professor Max Müller, "placed on the fire of the hearth, an oblation poured out to the gods, or alms given to Brâhmanas, this is what constitutes a Pâkayajna." Gautama enumerates seven Pâka sacrifices, *viz.*:—(1) Astakâ performed in the four winter months; (2) Pârvana at full and new moon; (3) Srâddha or monthly funeral oblations; (4 to 7) Srâvanî, Agrahâyanî, Chaitrî, and Âsvajujî performed on the days of full moon in the months from which the rites have been named. The account of these rites contained in the Grihya Sûtras is deeply interesting to Hindus, because after a lapse of over two thousand years we are still practising, as will be seen further on, the same interesting rites, sometimes under the same name, and often under a different name and in a somewhat different way. To the seven Pâkajajnas enumerated above may be added the five daily oblations, called emphatically the Mahâjajnas, and which consisted in oblations to

gods, to departed fathers, and to creatures in general, in the performance of duty towards Rishis and hospitality towards men. The Grihya Sûtras also contain accounts of social ceremonies performed at marriage, at the birth of a child, at his first feeding, at his assuming the life of a student, &c. And thus we get a complete idea of domestic life among ancient Hindus from these invaluable Grihya Sûtras.

The Sânkhyâyana and Âsvalâyana Grihya Sûtras belonging to the Rig Veda and the Pâraskara Grihya Sûtra belonging to the White Yajur Veda, together with the Khâdira, which is an abridgement of Gobhila Grihya Sûtra of the Sâma Veda, have translated by Herman, Oldenberg. A second volume, which promises to contain a translation of Gobhila, &c., has been announced but has not yet been published, but an excellent edition of Gobhila with notes has been published by Pundit Satyavrata Sâmasramin.

The Srauta Sûtra, the Dharma Sûtra, and the Grihya Sûtra go collectively under the name of Kalpa Sûtra. Indeed, each Sûtra charana is supposed to have had a complete body of Kalpa Sûtra including the division mentioned above, but much of what existed has been lost, and we have only fragments of the Sûtra literature left. The entire Kalpa Sûtra of Âpastamba still exists, and is divided into thirty prasnas or sections. The first twenty-four of these treat of Srauta sacrifices; the 25th contains the rules of interpretation; the 26th and

27th treat of the Grihya rites; the 28th and 29th contain the Dharma Sûtra, and the 30th section, the *Sulva Sûtra*, teaches the geometrical principles according to which the altars for the Srauta sacrifices were to be constructed. These interesting Sulva Sûtras have been made known to the western world by Dr. Thibaut. The publication of his work only confirms the conclusions of Von Schrader that Pythagoras learnt not only his theory of transmigration, but his mathematics also, from India in the sixth century before Christ.

We have so long spoken of the Kalpa Sûtra, as the Kalpa Sûtra forms the most important and historically the most valuable portion of the literature of the period. Our ancient writers enumerate five other Vedângas or departments of Vedic study, and we will briefly allude to them here.

Sikshâ or Phonetics is the science of pronunciation, and there is reason to believe that rules on the subject were formerly embodied in the Âranyakas and even in the Brâhmanas of the Epic Period, but that they have disappeared in consequence of the appearance of more scientific works on the same subject in the Rationalistic Period. These works are called Prâtisâkhyas, which were collections of phonetic rules applicable to each Sâkhâ or recension of each Veda.

Many of the Prâtisâkhyas, however, have been lost, and only one Prâtisâkhya for each Veda (except the Sâma Veda) has been preserved to us. The Prâtisâ-

khya of the Sâkala recension of the Rig Veda is ascribed to the renowned Saunaka. But Dr. Goldstücker gives good grounds for doubting his authorship of this work. Similarly, a Prâtisâkhya of the Mâdhyandina recension of the White Yajur Veda is also extant and is ascribed to Kâtyâyana. A Prâtisâkhya of the Black Yajur Veda and one of the Atharva Veda are also extant, but the names of the authors are forgotten. It will interest our readers to learn that among the teachers named in the Prâtisâkhya of the Black Yajur Veda, we have the name of a Vâlmîki !

Chhandas or Metre is spoken of in the Vedas, and whole chapters in the Âranyakas and Upanishads are devoted to it. But as in the case of Sikshâ, so in the case of Chhandas, we have a clear scientific treatment of the subject for the first time in the Sûtra literature. There are some chapters on the metre of the Rig Veda at the end of the Prâtisâkhya spoken of above. For the Sâma Veda we have the well-known Nidâna Sûtra in ten prapâthakas. Pingalanâga's work on Chhandas does not belong to the Sûtra Period, but to a much later time.

The deservedly great fame of Pânini in the department of *Vyâkarana* or Grammar has eclipsed that of all other grammarians of the period. Pânini belonged to the extreme north-west corner of India where the Brâhmanas and Âranyakas and Upanishads, composed mostly on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna, were little known or respected ; and Pânini

therefore knew little of them. Dr. Goldstücker is right in holding Pânini to be anterior to Buddha, that is to the 6th century B. C.

Similarly, the great fame of Yâska (anterior to Pânini, according to Dr. Goldstücker and other scholars) in the department of *Nirukta* has eclipsed the fame of his predecessors, of whom we know little except from the mention made of them in Yâska's work. Professor Max Müller has pointed out a common mistake made in calling Yâska's work as the Nirukta. Nirukta is a work, as Sâyana says, where only a number of words is given. Yâska takes up such an old-existing Nirukta, and on this text (which is usually known as the Nighantu) he writes a commentary, which is his work.

Colebrooke speaks of different treatises on *Jyotisha* or Astronomy for each Veda, and he calls one which has a commentary the Jyotisha of the Rig Veda. Professor Max Müller, however, has found the works to be different manuscripts of the same work, and he believes the work to have been composed after the Sûtra Period, although the doctrines and rules propounded in it belong to the earliest stage of Hindu astronomy. Its practical object is to convey a knowledge of the heavenly bodies necessary for fixing the time for sacrifices, and to establish a sacred calendar. However recent the date of the existing work may be, it contains observations made in India during the Epic Period, *i. e.*, when the Vedas were collected and arranged, and it furnishes

evidence therefore of the date of that period, which should not be lightly rejected or ignored.

Besides the six Vedângas detailed above there is another class of works called the Anukramanî or Index to the Vedas which also belongs to Sûtra literature. The Anukramanî of the Rig Veda is ascribed to Kâtyâyana, and gives the first words of each hymn, the number of verses, the name of the poet, the metre, and the deity. There were some older Anukramanîs of the Rig Veda which are ascribed to Saunaka, and one of which is still extant, but which have all been replaced by Kâtyâyana's fuller work. The Brihaddevatâ, which is a voluminous Anukramanî, is also ascribed to Saunaka. Writers of the Rationalistic Period were very fond of citing that honored name in connection with many works.

The Yajur Veda has three Anukramanîs, *viz.*, one for the Âtreya recension of the Black Yajur Veda, one for the recension of the Charakas, and the third for the Mâdhhyandina recension of the White Yajur Veda.

Of the Sâma Veda we have an ancient index in the Ârsheya Brâhmana, and some more among the Parisishtas or supplementary works. An Anukramanî of the Atharva Veda was discovered by Professor Whitney in the British Museum.

We have still to refer to the most important product of the Hindu mind in the Rationalistic Period. The speculations and earnest enquiries started at the

close of the Epic Period in the Upanishads led to those deeper investigations and subtle and profound researches which are known as the six schools of Hindu Philosophy. We have seen that Âpastamba mentions two of them in his Dharma Sûtra, and there is evidence that the commencement of all the six schools dates from the Rationalistic Period, though their further developments took place at a later date. Professor Weber justly remarks that it was in philosophy as well as in grammar that the speculative Hindu mind attained the highest pitch of its marvellous fertility. The abstrusest questions of matter and spirit and creation were dealt with, not as in the Upanishads in guesses and vague speculations, but with marvellous acumen and relentless logic. The natural result followed, and the fabric of faith tottered to its foundations. Learned men still paid a sort of nominal regard to the Vedas and the sacrifices they inculcated, but the support given was only nominal and half-hearted. Large portions of thinking men saw the weakness of the existing rites in the light of the new philosophy, and boldly threw away the mask and embraced Buddhism, which was a legitimate product of Sânkhya philosophy. And the masses of ignorant Sûdras too, for whom a cruel fate had been reserved in the Hindu Dharma Sûtras, openly welcomed a religion which recognised no Brâhmanas.

It is said of the French Revolution that it was mainly brought about by two causes, the oppression of kings

and the intellectual reaction set in by the philosophers of the eighteenth century. The Buddhist revolution in India is still more distinctly the result of similar causes. The oppression of Brâhmanism made the people sigh for a revolution, and the work of philosophers opened the path to such a revolution.

Buddhism was at last accepted as the state religion in the reign of Asoka, about 242 B. C. At this date the Rationalistic Period ends and the Buddhist Period, *i. e.*, the period when Buddhism was the prevailing religion in India, may be said to commence.

CHAPTER II.

EXPANSION OF THE HINDUS AND THE RISE OF MAGADHA.

THE History of India receives a new light in the Rationalistic Period, as it was in this period that the Greeks visited India and also compiled accounts of it from report. Greek civilization and national life had not commenced during the long centuries of the Vedic Age in India. Again, the rude heroes of the Trojan War knew little of their civilized but distant contemporaries, the Hindus of the Epic Age. The first two epochs of Hindu history receive no light therefore from Greek literature. The first Greek who is supposed to have borrowed his learning from the Hindus is the philosopher Pythagoras. He lived in the sixth century before Christ, *i. e.*, in the Rationalistic Period of Hindu history, and his theories and ideas throw some light on the prevailing ideas of the Hindus of that age. He learnt the doctrine of transmigration of souls and of final beatitude from the Upanishads and the current faith of the Hindus, and his ascetic observances and prohibition to eat flesh and beans were also borrowed from India. He learnt his elementary mathematics and geometry from the Sulva sûtras ; his notion of the

virtues of numbers is borrowed from the Sânkhya Phylosophy; and lastly, his idea of the five elements is essentially an Indian idea.

Herodotus, the father of Greek history, lived in the fifth century before Christ; and although he never visited India, he gives accounts of the Hindus from report which are valuable, although he mixes them up with legends and stories, and often confounds the customs of the Hindus with those of the uncivilized aborigines who still inhabited large tracts in India. Herodotus tells us that the Indians were the greatest nation of the age, that they were divided into various tribes and spoke different tongues, that they procured great quantites of gold in their country, that India abounded in quadrupeds and birds larger than any other country, and produced wild trees which bore wool (cotton) from which the Indians made their clothing (III, 94 to 106). Elsewhere he says, speaking of the Thracians, that they were the greatest of nations among men excepting only the Indians (V, 3.) Herodotus also mentions the fact, which is probably historically true, that Darius king of Persia subjugated a part of India, and his ships sailed down the Indus to the sea (IV, 44).

And lastly Magasthenes came to India in the fourth century before Christ, and lived in the court of Chandra Gupta in Pâtaliputra or ancient Patna. And although his original account is lost, still extracts from his writings

are found scattered in many subsequent works. These have been carefully collected by Dr. Schwanbeck of Bonn and translated into English by Mr. McCrindle, and are invaluable for the purposes of Indian History, and we shall frequently have occasion to quote them. Pythagoras, Herodotus and Megasthenes are unimpeachable witnesses to the high civilization of India during three successive centuries which fall within the Rationalistic Period, *viz.*, the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries before Christ.

We have seen that by the end of the Epic Period the whole of valley of the Ganges and Jumna from Delhi to North-Behar had been conquered, peopled and Hinduized. We have seen that towards the very close of that period, *i. e.*, about 1000 B. C., Hindu settlers and adventurers, colonists, and "pilgrim fathers" had left the valley of the Ganges and had penetrated into remote unknown lands, into southern Behar, Malwa, southern India and Gujrat. And we have seen that these Non-Aryan provinces were becoming gradually known to the Hindus, and were slowly coming under Hindu influence and power when the Epic Period closed and the Rationalistic Period began.

The waves of Hindu conquests rolled further and further, and the aborigines submitted themselves to a higher civilization and a nobler religion. Rivers were crossed, forests were cleared, lands were reclaimed, wide wastes were peopled, and new countries hitherto

aboriginal became the scenes of Hindu power and of Hindu religion. Where a few scanty settlers had penetrated at first, powerful colonies arose; where religious teachers had retired in seclusion, quiet villages and towns arose. Where a handful of merchants had made their way by some unknown river, boats navigated up and down with valuable cargoes for a civilized population. Where hardy warriors or scions of royal houses had dwelt in exile or by the chase, powerful monarchs reigned over a conquered civilized Hinduized aboriginal population. And where foresters had felled trees and cleared small tracts of land, smiling fields covered with waving corn spread for miles and miles around, betokening the spread of civilization and of the civilized arts of life.

Such was the history of Aryan conquests from generation to generation and from century to century in the Rationalistic Period; and each succeeding Sûtra work that we take up shews that the circle of civilization has spread wider, and that the zone of unreclaimed barbarism has receded further and further. And long before we come to the close of the Rationalistic Period, *i. e.*, the third century B. C., we find that the entire peninsula has been reclaimed, civilized, and Hinduized, and that primitive barbarians dwelt only in rocks, forests and deserts which the Aryans disdained to conquer. It is not possible within our limits to narrate fully this interesting story of Hindu conquests; nor

are materials available which would enable such a succinct account to be written. We will however quote a passage or two which will indicate to our readers the march of events.

Baudhâyana lived probably in the sixth century before Christ, and was, as we have seen before, one of the earliest of the Sûtrakâras. In his time the zone of Hindu kingdoms and civilization extended as far south as Kalinga or the eastern seaboard, stretching from modern Orissa southward to the mouth of the Krishnâ. The passage we refer to is interesting, because it shews that the ancient Hindu region along the Ganges and the Jumna was still regarded as the suitable home of Aryans, while tracts of country Hinduized more recently were looked upon with some degree of contempt.

"9. The country of the Âryas (Âryâvarta) lies to the east of the region where the River (Sarasvatî) disappears, to the west of the Black-forest (Kâlakavana), to the north of the Pâripâtra (Vindhya mountains), and to the south of the Himâlaya. The rule of conduct which prevails there is authoritative.

"10. Some declare the country between the Yamunâ and Ganga (to be the Âryâvarta).

"11. Now the Bhâllavins quote also the following verse.

"12. In the west the boundary river, in the east the region where the sun rises, as far as the black antelopes wander, so far spiritual pre-eminence is found.

"13. The inhabitants of Avanti (Malwa), of Anga (East Behar), of Magadha (South Behar), of Saurâshtra (Guzerat), of the Deccan, of Upâvrit, of Sindh, and the Sauvîras (of south Punjab) are of mixed origin.

"14. He who has visited the Ârattas (in the Punjab), Kâraskars (in south India), Pundras (in north Bengal), Sauvîras, Vangas (in eastern Bengal), Kalingas (eastern sea-board) or Prânûnas shall offer a Punastoma or a Sarvaprishtha sacrifice." *Baudhâyana. I, 1, 2.*

The passage is interesting, because it shews us the extent of the Hindu world in the early part of the Rationalistic Period, and also because it divides the Hindu world into three circles as it were, which were regarded with different degrees of esteem. Âryâvarta, stretching from the Sarsvatî to the confines of Behar and from the Himâlaya to the Vindhya, forms the first circle; and it is remarkable that the Punjab which was the earliest home of the Aryans in the Vedic Age is not included in this sacred circle. That realm had since then been backward in the later developments of Hindu religion and culture, and was rarely alluded to even in the literature of the Epic Period. The second circle, the people of which are said to be of mixed origin, includes southern Punjab, Sindh, Guzrat, Malwa, the Deccan, and south and east Behar. If the reader refers to the fourth chapter of the last Book, he will find that these were the very regions

which were becoming dimly known to the Hindus at the very close of the Epic Period. Early in the Ralionalistic Age they had already become recognized as Hindu kingdoms, and Hindu influence and civilization had travelled *beyond* these kingdoms to other regions which are included in the third circle. That third or last circle embraces the country of the Arattas in the Punjab, some parts of southern India, eastern and northern Bengal, and the eastern seaboard, from Orissa to the Krishnâ river. A person travelling in these places had to expiate the sin by a sacrifice. This this was the extreme limit of the Hindu world, —say in the sixth century before Christ.

That portions of Southern India had not only been colonized by this date, but had become the seats of Hindu kingdoms and of distinct schools of laws and learning is proved by the writings of Baudhâyana. As we have said before, Baudhâyana himself was probably a southerner, and although he expresses high regard for Âryâvarta or the valley of the Ganges, still he takes care to mention the peculiar laws and customs of Southern India. We will cite one passage :

"1. There is a dispute regarding five practices in the south and in the north.

"2. We will explain those peculiar to the south.

"3. They are to eat in the company of an uninitiated person, to eat in the company of one's wife, to eat stale

food, *to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt.**

"4. Now the customs peculiar to the north are, to deal in wool, to drink rum, to sell animals that have teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, to follow the trade of arms, *and to go to sea.*† .

"5. He who follows these practices in any other country than where they prevail commits sin.

"6. For each of these customs the rule of the country should be the authority.

"7. Gautama declares that that is false." *Baudhâyana*, I, 1, 2.

Let us now take leave of Baudhâyana and come to the next Sûtrakâra of Southern India, If Baudhâyana be supposed to have flourished in the sixth century before Christ, Âpastamba probably flourished in the fifth.‡ There can be little doubt that Âpastamba lived and taught in the Andhra country, and the limits of that great monarchy embraced all the districts between the Godâvarî and the Krishnâ. Dr. Bühler supposes that the capital of this southern empire was situated near modern Amarâvatî on the lower Krishnâ.

* Dr. Bühler points out that such marriages still prevail among the Desastha and Karhâda Brâhmans of the Deccan.

† Later superstition and degeneracy have fabricated a prohibition against going to sea for all Hindus.

‡ Dr. Bühler would on linguistic grounds place Âpastamba in the 3rd century B. C., but on other grounds he would put back that Sûtrakâra by another 150 or 200 years, *i.e.*, to the 5th century B. C.

It was the Andhra text of the Taittirîya Âranyaka which Âpastamba recognized and followed, and his teachings are to this day held in regard by the Brâhmanas of Nasik, Puna, Ahmadabad, Satara, Sholapur and Kolhapur, and other places in the Deccan who are Âpastambîyas.

Thus we find that the conquest of Southern India which was commenced at the close of the Epic Period went on through succeeding centuries; that by the sixth century, Bengal, the Deccan, and the whole of the seaboard to the mouth of the Krishnâ had been conquered and Aryanized; and that by the fifth century the Deccan as far south as the Krishnâ river was the seat of a powerful Hindu Empire, and the portion of India south of the Krishnâ was also probably Hinduized. By the fourth century B. C., the whole of Southern India had been Hinduised, and three great Hindu kingdoms, those of the Cholas, the Cheras and the Pândyas had been founded, stretching as far south as Cape Comorin; and Ceylon too had been discovered. And when we come to this (fourth) century, we issue now from the obscurity of isolated passages in the Sûtra works to the sunlight of Greek accounts of India! For it was in this century that Megasthenes, the ambassador of Selucus, came to India and resided in the royal court of Chandragupta in Pâtaliputra (or ancient Patna) between 317 and 312 B. C. The conquest of the whole of Southern India by the Hindus had been completed before this date.

The account of the races and kingdoms in India given by Megasthenes is full and intelligible, though scholars have found some difficulty in identifying the names of the places he mentions. He gives the distance from the Sutlej to the Jumna to be 168 miles, from the Jumna to the Ganges 112 miles, and thence 286 miles (119 + 167) to Kalinipaxa which Lassen identifies with Konouj, but St. Martin places on the banks of the Kalinadi river. 625 miles is given as the distance to the confluence of the Jumna, and this distance is supposed to be reckoned from the point of the Jumna above referred to, and so measures the entire length of the Doab. The distance to Pâtaliputra is stated as 425 miles, which is incorrect, the real distance being 248 miles; and from Pâtaliputra to the mouth of the Ganges the distance is given as 738 miles.

The Prâchyas, by which name we are now to understand the Magadhas, had become the most powerful and foremost nation in India in the fourth century B. C., as the Kurus, the Panchâlas, the Videhas and the Kosalas had been in the Epic Period. They had their capital at Pâtaliputra, a flourishing town described at 80 stadia or 9 miles long (a stadium = 202¼ yards) and 15 stadia or nearly 2 miles wide. It was of the shape a parallelogram, girded with a wooden wall* pierced with

* The wooden wall was still standing in the 5th century after Chirst when the Chinese traveller Fa Hian saw it. Fa Hian writes: "The palaces of the king which are in the city have walls of which the stones have been

loopholes for the discharge of arrows, and defended by a ditch in front.

It would seem that the whole of the Doab or the ancient land of the Panchâlas and the Kurus was now included in the powerful and extensive kingdom of Magadha, for the Jumna flowing through Mathura and Caresobora, (identified with *Kalikavasta* or Brindaban by Cunningham, and with *Krishnapura* or Agra by Lassen), was said to run through the kingdom of Pâtaliputra. The nation surpassed in power and glory every other people in India, and their king Chandragupta had a standing army of 600,000 foot soldiers, 30,000

collected by the genii. The carvings and the sculptures which ornament the windows are such as this age could not make; they still actually exist." The fall of Pâtaliputra was accomplished shortly after Fa Hian's time, for when Houen Tsang visited the place in the 7th century after Christ, he found nothing but ruins, and a village with two or three hundred houses. In an excavation made in 1876 for the construction of a public tank, some remains were discovered of what is supposed to have been the wooden wall spoken of by Magasthenes. In a part of Patna, half way between the railway station and the *chauk* or market place, the excavators discovered some 12 or 15 feet below the surface a long brick wall running from N. W. to S. E. Parallel to this wall was found a line of palisades, the strong timber of which it was composed, inclined slightly towards the wall. In one place there appeared to be an outlet or gate, two wooden pillars rising to a height of 8 or 9 feet with no palisades between them. A number of wells were also found covered with fragments of broken mud vessels, and one of the wells being cleared yielded capital drinking water, while among the rubbish taken out were discovered several iron spear heads. See *MacCrindle's Magasthenes and Arrian, p. 207, note.*

cavalry, and 9,000 elephants, "whence may be formed some conjecture as to the vastness of his resources."

Speaking apparently of South Bengal, Megasthenes mentions the Calingœ living nearest the sea, the Mandu and the Malli living higher up, the Gangerides, near the mouths of the Ganges, and the Modo-Galingœ in an island in the Ganges. It is impossible not to discover in the first and last of these names the ancient name of Kalinga, and the obvious inference is that in the fourth century before Christ, not only Orissa but the part of Bengal nearest to the sea was also called Kalinga. Indeed the whole of the sea-board from the mouths of the Ganges to those of the Krishnâ went by that name.

Megasthenes describes Parthalis as the capital of the Calingœ, and Parthalis is supposed to be the modern Vardhamâna or Burdwan. The powerful king of this place had 60,000 foot soldiers, 1,000 horse and 700 elephants.

A large island in the Ganges is said to have been inhabited by the Modogalingœ (Madhya-Kalinga), and beyond them several powerful tribes lived under a king who had 50,000 foot soldiers, 4,000 cavalry and 400 elephants. Beyond them again lived the Andarœ in whom it is impossible not to recognize the Andhras of Southern India. The Andhras were a great and powerful nation who had settled originally between the Godâvarî and the Krishnâ, but who before the time of Megasthenes had extended their kingdom as far north

as the Nurbudda. Megasthenes writes that they were a powerful race, possessed numerous villages and thirty walled towns, and supplied their king with 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants.

In the extreme North-West Megasthenes speaks of the Isari, the Cosyri, and other tribes located probably in Kashmir or its neighbourhood. The Indus is said to skirt the frontiers of the Prâchyas, by which we are to understand that the powerful and extensive kingdom of Magadha extended as far as the frontiers of the Punjab, and embraced all Northern India.

A great portion of the modern Rajputana was still the home of aboriginal tribes in the time of Megasthenes, of men who lived in woods, among tigers noted for their ferocity. He speaks of the tribes who lived in the fertile tracts surrounded by deserts, and of tribes who inhabited the hills (Aravalli), which ran in an unbroken chain parallel to the shores of the ocean. He also speaks of the tribes who lived enclosed by the loftiest mountain Capitalia which has been identified with Abu. He speaks further on of the Horatœ who were undoubtedly the Saurâshtras. They had a capital on the coast, which was a noble emporium of trade, and their king was the master of 1,600 elephants, 150,000 foot and 5,000 horse.

"Next come the Pandœ, the only race in India ruled by women. They say that Hercules having but one daughter, who was on that account all the more be-

loved, endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendants rule over 300 cities and command an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants." The Pandœ are supposed to have occupied the basin of the Chambâl river, but we cannot identify the story given above with any Hindu tradition or myth relating to any tribe. A long list then follows of tribes dwelling in different parts of Rajputana.

But not only was the whole of India except deserts and waste jungles known, but the sea-coast line too was equally known at the time of Megasthenes. He puts down the distance from the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Calingon (Coringon at the mouth of the Godâvarî) at 625 miles, and to Tropina (Tripontari opposite Cochin) at 1,225 miles. Thence to the Cape of Perimula was 750 miles, and Perimula has been identified with the Island of Salsette or Bombay. It was even in the time of Megasthenes "the greatest emporium of trade in India." From Perimula to the Island of Patala, *i.e.*, the delta of the Indus, was 620 miles.

And lastly, the Island of Ceylon too was known in the time of Megasthenes. The island was called by the Greeks Taprobanê, a slightly altered form of the Pali, name Tambapannî, which corresponds to the Sanscrit Tâmraparni or the copperleaved. Megasthenes says that the island was separated from the mainland by a river, and that the country was productive of gold and

large pearls and elephants much larger than the Indian breeds. Ælian who wrote long after Megasthenes, but like most other Greek and Roman writers got much of his information about India from the account of Megasthenes, says that Taprobanê was a large mountainous island full of palm groves, that the inhabitants dwelt in huts of reeds and transported their elephants in boats which they constructed for the purpose, and sold them to the king of Kalingai.

Fortunately the people of Ceylon have preserved a chronology which is fairly reliable and which points to a date approximately correct, when the island was first colonized by Hindus. The Dîpavansa composed in the 4th century A. D., and the Mahâvansa, composed somewhat later, are both based on an ancient commentary kept in the Mahâvihâra monastery, and are the national epics of Ceylon, and have a historical value. According to these works, the conquest of Ceylon is attributed to Vijaya in the year 543 B. C. The particular date was fixed upon to make the discovery of Ceylon correspond with the supposed date of Buddha's death ; but even after some necessary adjustment, Ceylon may be supposed to have been conquered by Hindus in the 5th century B. C. Vijaya was the son of Sinhabâhu, the king of Sâla in Magadha, and was connected with the kings of Vanga and Kalinga. It is said that the young prince committed numberless acts of fraud and violence, for which the people demanded his execution

but his royal father sent him and his companions adrift on the ocean, and they discovered Ceylon.

We need not accept the story of Vijaya literally as true. But there can be no doubt that the existence of the island was known to the Hindus for centuries, that the maritime trade in which the people of Kalinga largely engaged in the Sûtra Period made the people better acquainted with the island, and that when the products of the island were found to be valuable, and a trade sprang up between the island and the mainland, some venturesome or exiled scion of a royal house was drawn towards the newly discovered land by the romance which always hangs round all new discoveries, and settled there, and made it into a Hindu kingdom. Over two hundred years after the discovery of the island, Devânâmpriya Tishya, the contemporary of Asoka, became the king of Ceylon and adopted the Buddhist religion, and the Cingalese have been Buddhists ever since. It is owing to this fact probably that Ceylon has (unlike the Hindu kingdoms of India) a connected and fairly reliable history.

Indeed the only other country or province which has some authentic history of the Rationalistic Period is Magadha, and the existence of a historical account of this province is probably due to the same cause, *viz.*, that Magadha like Ceylon early embraced Buddhism.

Ajâtasatru was the king of Magadha in the 5th century B. C., when Gautama Buddha closed his long

career of piety (477 B. C.) He was a powerful king and beat back the Turanian Vajjians who were invading from the north, and extended the power and the limits of the rising kingdom of Magadha over the sites of the ancient kingdoms on the Ganges Valley. A century after Ajâtasatru, nine Nandas reigned in this kingdom probably from 370 to 320 B. C., when the great Chandragupta, by the help of Chânakya, the Bismarck of the age, overturned that dynasty and ascended the throne. The monarch extended his conquests westwards, and was fairly the master of all Northern India; and Megasthenes probably did not exaggerate his prowess when he stated that Chandragupta had an army of 600,000 foot, 30,000 horse and 9,000 elephants. Chandragupta was for a time a fugitive in the camp of Alexander the Great, and he began his rule in Magadha a few years after Alexander had left India.

Chandragupta's successor, Bimdusâra, reigned from 291 to 263 B. C., and he was succeeded by Asoka the Great, the greatest emperor who has ever ruled in India in ancient or modern times. His fame, however, rests not on extending and consolidating the great empire which had been founded by Chandragupta, but in giving his imperial sanction to Buddha's religion of humanity, which during the preceding two hundred years had made but humble progress in India. Asoka adopted it as the state religion, and proclaimed it

through all the civilized world. He published his rock-cut edicts through the length and breadth of India, sent his missionaries to Macedon, Egypt, and Greece, and numbered Antiochus of Syria, and Antigonas of Macedon, Ptolemy of Egypt, and Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epiros as his allies.

It was at a great council of Pâtaliputra, in 242 B. C., that Asoka had the Buddhist Scriptures finally settled before proclaiming them all over India and the then-known world. At this date, therefore, the Rationalistic Period ends, and the Buddhist Age begins. The history of Asoka belongs to the Buddhist Period, and will be told in our account of that period.

CHAPTER III.

ADMINISTRATION.

AN account of the system of administration which prevailed in India over two thousand years ago will naturally interest our readers, and fortunately, both Hindu Sûtrakâras and Greek writers, furnish us with reliable information on the subject. We will begin our account with some extracts from Sûtra works. The king is directed to build a royal town, and a palace for himself, looking towards the south :

"3. The palace shall stand in the heart of the town.

"4. In front of that there shall be a hall. That is called the hall of invitation.

"5. At a little distance from the town to the south he shall cause to be built an assembly house with doors on the south and on the north sides, so that one can see what passes inside and outside."

Fires shall burn constantly and oblations offered in these fires, and—

"8. In the hall he shall put up his guests, at least those who are learnt in the Vedas.

"9. Rooms, a couch, meat and drink should be given to them according to their good qualities."

A table with dice should also be provided, and Brâhmans, Vaisyas and Sûdras may be allowed to play there. Assaults of arms, dancing, singing and music are allowed in the houses of the king's servants; and the king shall constantly take care of his subjects:—

"15. That king only takes care of the welfare of his subjects in whose dominions, be it in villages or forests, there is no danger from thieves." *Âpastamba*, II, 10, 25.

Vasishtha thus details the duties of the king:

"1. The particular duty of a king is to protect all beings; by fulfilling it he obtains success.

"3. Let him appoint a domestic priest to perform the rites obligatory on the order of householders.

"8. Let him punish those who stray from the path of duty.

"11. Let him not injure trees that bear fruit and flowers.

"12. He may injure them in order to extend cultivation.

"13. The measures and weights of objects necessary for households must be guarded (against falsification).

"14. Let him not take property for his own use from the inhabitants of his realm.

"15. The measures and price of such property shall only be liable to deductions in the shape of taxes." *Vasishtha*, XIV.

Vasishtha (I, 42) and Baudhâyana (I, 10, 18, 1) declare that the king is entitled to a sixth portion of the income of his subjects as taxes, but exempt many classes who are unable to pay. Gautama details the taxes thus :—

"24. Cultivators pay to the king a tax amounting to one-tenth, one-eighth or one-sixth (of the produce).

"25. Some declare that the tax on cattle and gold amounts to one-fiftieth (of the stock).

"26. In the case of merchandise one-twentieth (must be paid by the seller) as duty.

"27. Of roots, fruits, flowers, medicinal herbs honey, meat, grass, and firewood, one-sixtieth.

"Each artizan shall monthly do one day's work (for the king).

"32. Hereby the taxes payable by those who support themselves by personal labour have been explained.

"33. And those payable by owners of ships and carts.

"34. He must feed these persons while they work for him." *Gautama*, X.

Megasthenes gives us a valuable account of the manner in which the work of administration was actually carried on, and the following passages will be read with interest :—

"Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of

foreigners. To these they assign lodgings, and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or in the event of their dying, forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and if they die bury them. The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government. The fourth class superintends trade and commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity unless he pays a double tax. The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine for mixing the two together. The sixth and last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the articles sold."

The military officers "also consist of six divisions with five members to each. One division is appointed to co-operate with the Admiral of the fleet; another with the Superintendent of the bullock trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military

requisites. * * The third division has charge of the foot soldiers; the fourth of the horses; the fifth of the war chariots, and the sixth of the elephants."

Besides the municipal officers and military officers, there was yet a third class of officers who superintended agriculture, irrigation, forests, and generally the work of administration in rural tracts. Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupation connected with land, as those of the wood-cutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners. They construct roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to shew the by-roads and distances." *MacCrindle's Translation.*

It must not be supposed that the highly organized system of administration described by Megasthenes prevailed in all kingdoms, or that all kings observed the same uniform method. Megasthenes describes the system which prevailed under the powerful king Chandragupta, of Magadha, in whose court he lived. But nevertheless his description gives us a general idea of the careful system of administration which prevailed under Hindu kings in the Rationalistic Period. We

have only to add that villages in the old Hindu times were little self-governing communities, and paid their taxes to the king's officers through their headmen. Of such officers,—*i. e.*, lords of ten villages, of hundred villages, and so on, we have frequent mention in Manu and other metrical codes.

Of the personal habits and occupations of kings, Megasthenes has given us a picture which agrees in the main with the picture given in Paurânik literature. The care of the king's person was entrusted to female slaves, who are said to have been bought from their parents, and the guards and the rest of the soldiery were stationed outside the gates. The king attended the court every day, and remained there during day without allowing the business to be interrupted. The only other occasions on which he left the palace were when he performed sacrifices or went out for the chase. Crowds of women surrounded him when he went out for the chase, and outside this circle, the spearmen were ranged. Armed women attended the king in chariots, on horses or on elephants when he hunted in the open grounds from the back of an elephant. Sometimes he shot arrows from a platform inside an enclosure, and two or three armed women stood by him on the platform. These accounts shew that the sturdy and warlike manners of the Kurus and the Panchâlas of the Epic Age had already been replaced by more luxurious and effeminate habits in the Rationalistic Age. The age of

chivalry had gone, and that of sophism and luxury had come!

Arrian gives an account of the mode in which Hindus equipped themselves for war:—"The foot soldiers carry a bow made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot, thus discharge the arrow having drawn the string far backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot,—neither shield nor breastplate, nor any stronger defence if such there be. In their left hand they carry bucklers made of undressed ox-hide, which are not so broad as those who carry them, but are about as long. Some are equipped with javelins instead of bows, but wear a sword, which is broad in the blade, but not longer than three cubits; and this, when they engage in close fight (which they do with reluctance), they wield with both hands to fetch down a lustier blow. The horsemen are equipped with two lances like the lances called *Saunia*, and with a shorter buckler than that carried by the foot soldiers. For they do not put saddles on their horses; nor do they curb them with bits in use among the Greeks or the Kelts, but they fit on round the extremity of the horse's mouth a circular piece of stitched raw ox-hide studded with pricks of iron or brass pointing inwards, but not very sharp; if a man is rich he uses pricks made of ivory." *MacCrindle's Translation.*

The laws of war were more humane among Hindus than among other nations in the world. "The Aryans forbid the slaughter of those who have laid down their arms, of those who beg for mercy with flying hair or joined hands, and of fugitives." *Âpastamba*, II, 5, 10, 11. "Let him not fight with those who are in fear, intoxicated, insane or out of their minds, nor with those who have lost their armour, nor with women, infants, aged men and Brâhmans." *Baudhâyana*, I, 10, 18, 11. "The wives (of slain soldiers) shall be provided for." *Vasishtha*, XIX, 20. And Megasthenes too vouches for the humane laws of war among Hindus. "For whereas among other nations it is usual in the contests of war to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste. Among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger; for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees."

Megasthenes tells us that the Indian tribes numbered 118 in all. On the north of India, and beyond the Himâlaya, the country "is inhabited by those Scythians who are called the Sakai." Such is the brief mentior

made of that powerful tribe which hung like an ominous cloud on the northern slopes of the Himâlaya in the fourth century before Christ, but which in course of a few centuries burst like a hurricane on the plains of Western India, and convulsed and shattered Hindu kingdoms.

Of the peaceful and law-abiding people in India Megasthenes gives a pleasing and grateful account: "They live happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine, except at sacrifices. Their beverage is a liquor composed from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice pottage. The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges and deposits nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess sober sense. * * Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. Hence they accord no special privileges to the old unless they possess superior wisdom." Megasthenes further states that the Indians did "not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own;" that thefts were very rare among them, that their laws were administered from memory, and even that the Indians were ignorant of the art of writing. We have conclusive proofs that writing was known in India in the Rationalistic Period, and the statement of Megasthenes

only shews that writing was in very little use, either in schools, where boys received their learning and their religious lessons by rote, or even in Courts of Justice where laws, *i. e.*, the Dharma Sûtras, were administered by learned Judges entirely from memory.

The Dharma Sûtras present us with a full account of the way in which criminal and civil law was administered and judicial trials were held.

"5. Men of learning and pure descent, who are aged, clever in reasoning, and careful in fulfilling their duties, shall be judges in law suits.

"6. In doubtful cases, (they shall give their decision) after having ascertained the truth by inference or deeds and the like means.

"7. A person who is possessed of good qualities (may be called as a witness), shall answer the questions put to him according to the truth on an auspicious day in the morning, before a kindled fire, standing near water, in the presence of the king, and with the consent of all, after having been exhorted by the Judge to be fair to both sides.

"8. If he is found out speaking an untruth, the king shall punish him.

"9. Besides in that case, after death, hell.

"10. If he speaks the truth, heaven, and the approbation of all created beings." *Âpastamba*, II, 11, 29.

Gautama says:—

"22. Having learned the affairs from those who

have authority to speak, he, the king, shall give the legal decision.

"23. Reasoning is a means for arriving at the truth.

"24. Coming to a conclusion through that, he shall decide properly.

"25. If the evidence is conflicting, he shall learn the truth from those who are well versed in the threefold sacred lore, and give his decision.

"26. For thus, blessings will attend him." *Gautama*, XI.

The oath that was administered to a witness was of the most solemn character:—

"32. Depose, O witness! according to the truth; expecting thy answer thy ancestors hang in suspense; in accordance with its truth or falsehood they will rise to heaven or fall into hell.

"33. Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst, and deprived of sight, shall the man who gives false evidence go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy." *Vasishtha*, XVI.

"10. The merit which thou hast acquired in the interval between the night in which thou wert born and that in which thou wilt die,—all that will go to the king if thou speakest an untruth." *Baudhayana*, I, 10, 19.

The literature of no nation contains more earnest injunctions to speak the truth than the Dharma Sûtras. Gautama says that to give false evidence is a mortal sin, *mahâpâtaka*, which involves loss of caste, (XXI, 10), and

"to speak the truth before the Judge is more important than all duties" (XIII, 31). Baudhâyana declares that the perjured man shall go to hell, and also prescribes a penance for the sin (I, 10, 19, 15).* Megasthenes informs us that Hindus seldom went to law, that they made their pledges and deposits without witnesses, that they held truth in high esteem, and that a person who bore false witness in India suffered the dreadful penalty of the mutilation of his extremities. By the unanimous testimony of the Greek and Chinese writers who travelled and lived in India, Hindus detested falsehood, and were truthful and honest as a nation. Writers therefore who have judged the nation, not by the general spirit and tenor of their literature and laws, but by a few solitary passages; and administrators, too, who have judged the people, not by their conduct and mutual transactions in towns and villages, but by the chicanery and falsehood witnessed in Law Courts, have unconsciously made themselves liable to the severe punishment spoken of by Megasthenes, or at least to the milder penance prescribed by Baudhâyana!

* *Viz.*, that he should live on hot scalding milk for twelve days and nights, or should offer oblations, reciting certain texts.

CHAPTER IV.

LAWS.

THE caste system had been completely organized in the Rationalistic Period, and threw an indelible stain on the criminal law of India. There was one law for the Brahman, another for the Sûdra; the former was treated with undue leniency, the latter with excessive and cruel severity. If a Brahman committed one of the four or five heinous crimes enumerated in the law books, *i.e.*, if he slew a Brahman, violated his guru's bed, stole the gold of a Brahman or drank spirituous liquor, the king branded him on the forehead with a heated iron and banished him from his realm. If a man of a lower caste slew a Brahman, he was punished with death and the confiscation of his property. If such a man slew a man of equal or lower caste, other suitable punishments were meted out to him. A fine of a thousand cows was the punishment for slaying a Kshatriya, that of a hundred for killing a Vaisya, and that of ten cows only for slaying a Sûdra! *Baudhâyana*, I, 10, 18, and 19.

Adultery has always been looked upon in India not only as a criminal offence, but as an offence of a heinous nature; but the punishment for this offence also was

regulated by the caste of the offender. A man of the first three castes who committed adultery with a Sûdra woman was banished; but a Sûdra who committed adultery with a woman of the first three castes suffered capital punishment. And an opinion is also quoted that for a Brahman who once committed adultery with a married woman of equal class, the penance was one-fourth of that prescribed for an out-caste. *Âpastamba*, II, 10 27.

The same iniquitous distinction pervades the rules for minor offences. The tongue of a Sûdra who spoke evil of a virtuous person belonging to one of the first three castes was to be cut out, and a Sûdra who assumed an equal position with those castes was to be flogged. *Âpastamba*, II, 10, 27. Similarly Gautama declares that a Sûdra who reviled a twice-born man or assaulted him with blows should lose the limb with which he offended; that if he listened to a recitation of the Veda, his ears should be stopped with molten lac or tin; that if he recited the Veda, his tongue should be cut out; and if he remembered Vedic texts, his body should be split in twain. *Gautama*, XII. It must not be supposed that these cruel laws against the Sûdras were ever enforced. On the contrary, the reader will easily perceive, the Brahman composers of the Sûtras were anxious to emphasise the distinction between themselves and the other castes, and specially Sûdras, and have therefore represented the laws as ten times more

iniquitous than they were, as actually administered by sensible kings and Kshatriya officers, or even by Brâhman judges.

A Kshatriya abusing a Brâhman pays 100 kârshâpanas, and beating a Brâhman pays 200 kârshâpanas. A Vaisya abusing a Brâhman pays 150 kârshâpanas, and we suppose pays 300 for beating him. But a Brâhman pays only 50 kârshâpanas for abusing a Kshatriya, 25 for abusing a Vaisya, and for abusing a Sûdra,—nothing! *Gautama*, XII, 8 to 13.

Death or corporal punishment seems to have been the punishment for theft at least in some cases; and the thief is directed to appear before the king with flying hair, holding a club in his hand and proclaiming his deed. If the king pardons him and does not slay him or strike him, the guilt falls on the king. *Gautama* XII, 45. The prerogative of mercy was the king's alone, but a guru, a priest, a learned householder or a prince could intercede for an offender, except in the case of a capital offence. *Âpastamba*, II, 10, 27, 20.

Vasishtha reserves the right of self-defence in the case of a person attacked by an *Âtatâyin*, and that term includes an incendiary, a poisoner, one ready to kill with weapon in his hand, a robber, a man who takes away another's land, or abducts another's wife. A man may slay an Âtatâyin who comes to slay, even if the latter "knows the whole of the Veda, together with the Upanishads." *Vasishtha*, III, 15 to 18.

Agriculture and trade were the means of the people's subsistence, and crimes relating to a cultivator's land or to an artizan's trade were punished with the utmost severity. We have seen that defence of land was one of the cases in which the right of self-defence was allowed, and false evidence given about land was looked upon with the utmost detestation. By giving false evidence concerning small cattle, a witness commits the sin of killing ten men, by false evidence concerning cows, horses and men, he commits the sin of killing a hundred, a thousand, and ten thousand men respectively; but by false evidence concerning land, he commits the sin of killing the whole human race. "Hell is the punishment for a theft of land." *Gautama*, XIII, 14 to 17. Similarly with regard to artizans, Megasthenes informs us that he who caused an artizan to lose his eye or his hand was punished with death.

A severe penance is ordained for the man who attempts suicide, and the relations of a suicide are prohibited from performing funeral rites for him. *Vasishtha*, XXIII, 14, &c.

Turning to civil law, we find a number of provisions which throw light on the system of agriculture in the Rationalistic Period. Lands were leased as in the present time, and,

"1. If a person who has taken a lease of land does not exert himself, and hence the land bears no crop,

he shall, if he be rich, be made to pay the value of the crop that ought to have been grown.

"2. A servant in tillage who abandons his work shall be flogged.

"3. The same punishment shall be awarded to a herdsman who leaves his work.

"4. And the flock entrusted to him shall be taken away.

"5. If cattle, leaving their stable, eat crops, the owner of the crops may make them lean (by impounding them); but shall not exceed.

"6. If a herdsman who has taken cattle under his care, allows them to perish or loses them, he shall replace them to the owners.

"7. If (the king's forester) sees cattle that have been sent into the forest through negligence, he shall lead them back to the village and make them over to the owners." *Âpastamba*, II, 11, 28.

Again, Gautama says:—

"19. If damage is done by cattle, the responsibility falls on the owner.

"20. But if the cattle were attended by a herdsman, it falls on the latter.

"21. If the damage was done in an unenclosed field near the road, the responsibility falls on the herdsman and on the owner of the field." *Gautama*, XII.

As in the present day, unenclosed fields were used

as common property for grazing cattle, and for obtaining firewood.

"He may take, as his own, grass for a cow, and fuel for his fire, as well as the flowers of creepers and trees and their fruit if they be unenclosed." *Gautama*, XII, 28.

Some equitable provisions are laid down by Vasishtha about the right of way, and about the evidence necessary in disputes about immoveable property.

"10. It is declared in the Smriti that there are three kinds of proof which give a title to property, *viz.*, documents, witnesses and possession; thereby an owner may recover property which formerly belonged to him.

"11. From fields through which there is a right of way, a space sufficient for the road must be set apart, likewise a space for turning a cart.

"12. Near new built houses and other things of the same description, there shall be a passage three feet broad.

"13. In a dispute about a house or a field, reliance must be placed on the depositions of neighbours.

"14. If the statements of the neighbours disagree, document may be taken as proof.

"15. If conflicting documents are produced, reliance must be placed on the statements of aged inhabitants of the village or town, and on those of guilds and corporations of artizans or traders." *Vasishtha*, XVI.

The law of acquiring property by usage is thus laid down :—

"16. Now they quote also the following verse: 'Property inherited from a father, a thing bought, a pledge, property given to a wife after marriage by her husband's family, a gift, property obtained for performing a sacrifice, the property of re-united co-parceners, and wages as the eighth.'

"17. Whatever belonging to these eight kinds of property has been enjoyed by another person for ten years continuously is lost to the owner.

"18. They quote also a verse on the other side: 'A pledge, a boundary, and the property of minors, an (open) deposit, a sealed deposit, women, the property of a king, and the wealth of a Srotriya are not lost by being enjoyed by others.'

"19. Property entirely given up by its owner goes to the king." *Vasishtha*, XVI.

Gautama has similar rules :—

"37. The property of a person who is neither an idiot nor a minor, having been used by strangers before his eyes for ten years, belongs to him who uses it.

"38. But not if it is used by Srotriyas, ascetics or royal officials.

"39. Animals, land and females are not lost to the owner by another's possession." *Gautama*, XII.

Women and females in the above extracts must mean female slaves. With regard to minors, widows, &c.,

there are provisions to the effect that the king shall administer their property and shall restore it in the case of a minor when he comes of age. *Vasishtha*, XVI, 8 & 9.

We have seen that the practice of money-lending prevailed in India from the early Rig Veda times; but it is in the Rationalistic Period that we find the rate of interest legally fixed.

"Hear the interest for a money-lender declared by the words of Vasishtha, five *Mâshâs* for twenty (*Kârshâpanas* may be taken every month); thus the law is not violated." *Vasishtha*, II, 51.

Similarly Gautama declares (XII, 29):—

"The legal interest for money lent is at the rate of five *Mâshâs* a month for twenty (*Kârshâpanas*)."

The commentator Hara Datta reckons 20 mashas to the kârshâpana, so that the rate of interest comes to 1¼ per cent. per month, or 15 per cent. per annum. Krishna Pandita correctly states that this rate of interest applies to loans for which security is given. Manu specially mentions (VIII, 140) that this rate is prescribed by Vasishtha. Gautama says that after the principal has been doubled, interest ceases, and when the object pledged is an object used by the creditor, the money lent bears no interest at all (XII, 31 and 32).

Other articles might be lent at a much higher percentage of interest, apparently when no security was given.

"44. Gold may be lent, taking double its value on repayment, and grain trebling the original price.

"45. The case of flavouring substances has been explained by the rule regarding grain.

"46. As well as the case of flowers, roots and fruit.

"47. He may lend what is sold by weight taking eight times the original value on repayment."

Similarly Gautama says :—

"The interest on products of animals, on wool, on the produce of a field, and on beasts of burden, shall not increase more than five-fold the value of the object lent. *Gautama*, XII, 36.

Thus apart from the loan of money on security, articles and products were lent, apparently without security, at an enormous rate of interest. In the former case the interest was only 15 per cent., and the principal could only be doubled; in the latter case it could increase six or eight-fold.

Gautama names no less than six different forms of interest, *viz.*, compound interest, periodical interest, stipulated interest, corporal interest, daily interest and the use of a pledge. (XII, 34 & 35.) He lays down that the heirs shall pay the debts of a deceased person, but provides that money due by a surety, a commercial debt, a fee due to the parents of the bride, immoral debts and fines shall not devolve on the sons of the debtor. (XII, 40&41.)

And this brings us to the most important portion of the Civil Law, *viz.*, the Law of Inheritance.

To leave male issue was considered a religious duty by the ancient Hindus, and their extreme desire for male issue, and their fear also of having to suffer the torments of hell if no male issue was left behind, led to the custom of appointing childless widows and even unmarried daughters to raise issue, which sounds strange in modern ears. Gautama, who is the earliest of the Sûtrakâras, whose Dharma Sûtras are extant, recognises both these customs which had been handed down from before the Rationalistic Period.

"2. Let her (a wife) not violate her duty towards her husband.

"3. Let her restrain her tongue, eyes and action.

"4. A woman whose husband is dead, and who desires offspring, (may bear a son) to her brother-in-law.

"5. Let her obtain the permission of her Gurus, and let her have intercourse during the proper season only.

"6. (On the failure of a brother-in-law she may obtain offspring) by a Sapinda, Sagotra, a Samânapravara, or one who belongs to the same caste.

"7. Some declare she shall co-habit with nobody but a brother-in-law.

"8. She shall not bear more than two (sons).

"9. The child belongs to him who begot it.

"10. Except if an agreement to the contrary has been made." *Gautama*, XVIII.

Again,

"18. A father who has no (male) issue may appoint his daughter (to raise up a son for him), presenting burnt offerings to Agni and to Prajâpati, and addressing, 'for me be the offspring.'

"19. Some declare that a daughter becomes an appointed daughter solely by the intention (of the father)." *Gautama*, XXVIII.

We will make one more extract from Gautama which indicates the different kinds of sons who were considered by him to be heirs, and those who were only members of the family.

"32. A legitimate son (*Aurasa*), a son begotten on the wife (*Kshetraja*), an adopted son (*Datta*), a son made (*Kritrima*), a son born secretly (*Gûdhaja*), and a son abandoned (*Apaviddha*), inherit the estate.

"33. The son of an unmarried damsel (*Kânîna*), the son of a pregnant bride (*Sahodha*), the son of a twice married woman (*Paunarbhava*), the son of an appointed daughter (*Putrikâputra*), a son self-given (*Svayamdatta*), and a son bought (*Krîta*), belong to the family. XXVIII.

Baudhâyana and Vasishtha lived long after Gautama, and their opinions varied from that of Gautama as well as from each other in some respects.

"14. One must know a son begotten by the husband himself on a wedded wife of equal caste to be a legitimate son of the body, *Aurasa*. * *

"15. The male child born of a daughter after an agreement has been made is the son of an appointed daughter, *Putrikâputra.* * *

"17. He who is begotten by another man on the wife of a deceased man, of a eunuch, or of one diseased, after permission, is called the son begotten on a wife, *Kshetraja.*

"20. He is called an adopted son, *Datta*, who being given by his father and his mother, or by either of the two, is received in the place of a child.

"21. He is called a son made, *Kritrima*, whom a man himself makes his son with the (adoptee's) consent only, and who belongs to the same caste.

"22. He is called a son born secretly, *Gûdhaja*, who is secretly born in the house, and whose origin is afterwards recognized.

"23. He is called a son cast off, *Apaviddha*, who being cast off by his father and his mother, or by either, is received in the place of a child.

"24. If anybody approaches an unmarried girl without the permission (of her father or guardian), the son born by such a woman is called the son of an unmarried damsel (*Kânîna*).

"25. If one marries either knowingly or unknowingly a pregnant bride, the child which is born of her is called a son taken with the bride, *Sahodha.*

26. He is called a son bought, *Krîta*, who being purchased from his father and his mother or

from either of them is received in the place of a child.

"27. He is called the son of a twice-married woman, *Paunarbhava,* who is born of a remarried female, *i. e.* of one who having left an impotent man, has taken a second husband.

"28. He is called a self-given son, *Svayamdatta,* who abandoned by his father and his mother gives himself to a stranger.

"29. He who is begotten by a man of the first twice born caste on a female of the Sûdra caste is called a *Nishâda.*

"30. (He who is begotten by the same parents through lust is called a *Pârasava.* * * " *Baudhâyana,* II, 2, 3.

Baudhâyana then quotes verses which declare that of the fourteen kinds of sons enumerated above, the first named seven, *i. e.,* the Aurasa, the Putrikâputra, the Kshetraja, the Datta, the Kritrima, the Gûdhaja, and the Apaviddha, were entitled to share the inheritance. The next six, *i. e.,* the Kânîna, the Sahodha, the Krîta, the Paunarbhava, the Svayamdatta, and the Nishâda, were considered members of the family. The Pârasava was not even considered a member of the family.

Vasishtha enumerates twelve kinds of sons like Gautama.

"12. Twelve kinds of sons only are noticed by the ancients.

"13. The first is begotten by the husband himself on his legally married wife (*Aurasa*).

"14. The second is the son begotten on a wife (or widow) (*Kshetraja*) duly authorised thereto on the failure of the first kind of sons.

"15. The third is an appointed daughter (*Putrikâputra*).

"16. It is declared in the Veda 'a maiden who has no brothers comes back to the male ancestors (of her own family); *returning she becomes their son.*' *

"17. With reference to this, a verse (to be spoken by the father when appointing his daughter), 'I shall give thee a brotherless damsel, decked with ornaments, the son whom she may bear, shall be my son.'

"18. The fourth is the son of a remarried widow (*Paunarbhava*).

"19. She is called remarried, *Punarbhû*, who leaving the husband of her youth, and having lived with others, re-enters his family.

"20. And she is called remarried who *leaving an*

* "The curious fact that Vasishtha here calls the appointed daughter a son may perhaps be explained by a custom which, though rarely practised, still occurs in Kashmîr, and by which a brotherless maiden is given a male name. A historical instance of this kind is mentioned in the Râja Taranginî, where it is stated that Kalyânadevî, princess of Gauda and wife of king Jayâpîda, was called by her father Kalyânamalla."—Dr. Bühler.

*impotent, outcast or mad husband, or after the death of her husband, takes another lord.**

"21. The fifth is the son of an unmarried damsel (*Kânîna*).

"24. A male child secretly born in the house is the sixth (*Gûdhaja*).

"25. They declare that *these six are heirs and kinsmen*, preservers from a great danger.

"26. Now among those sons *who are not heirs but kinsmen*, the first is he who is received with a pregnant bride (*Sahodha*).

"28. The second is the adopted son (*Datta*).

"30. The son bought (*Krîta*) is the third.

"33. The fourth is the son self-given (*Svayamdatta*).

"36. The son cast off is the fifth (*Apaviddha*).

"38. They declare that the son of a woman of the Sûdra caste (*Nishâda*) is the sixth." * * *Vasishtha*, XVII.

The last named six kinds of sons cannot inherit according to Vasishtha, but he quotes a verse that they shall be allowed "to take the heritage of him who has no heir belonging to the first mentioned six classes."

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* The circumstances which allowed the second marriage of a woman have been enumerated in this verse. They are insanity, impotency, loss of caste or death of her husband. The son of a woman thus married a second time is allowed by Vasishtha to inherit.

The rules of Gautama, Vasishtha and Baudhâyana may be thus shewn in parallel columns :—

	GAUTAMA.	VASISHTHA.	BAUDHAYANA.
Kinsmen and heirs	1. Aurasa.	1. Aurasa.	1. Aurasa.
	2. Kshetraja.	2. Kshetraja.	2. Putrikâputra.
	3. Datta.	3. Putrikâputra.	3. Kshetraja.
	4. Kritrima.	4. Paunarbhava.	4. Datta.
	5. Gûdhaja.	5. Kânîna.	5. Kritrima.
	6. Apaviddha.	6. Gûdhaja.	6. Gûdhaja.
			7. Apaviddha.
Kinsmen not heirs	7. Kânîna.	7. Sahodha.	8. Kânîna.
	8. Sahodha.	8. Datta.	9. Sahodha.
	9. Paunarbhava.	9. Krîta.	10. Krîta.
	10. Putrikâputra.	10. Svayamdatta.	11. Paunarbhava.
	11. Svayamdatta.	11. Apaviddha.	12. Svayamdatta.
	12. Krîta.	12. Nishâda.	13. Nishâda.
Neither kinsmen nor heirs	,, ,,	,, ,,	14. Pârasava.

But a reaction appears to have set in early against the recognition of sons legitimate and illegitimate,—even to escape the torments of hell after death! Âpastamba, who lived a century or more after Baudhâyana, protests against the recognition of heirs and sons of various kinds, and explains away ancient customs by stating that what had been allowed in ancient times could not be permitted among sinful men of the present time.

"1. Sons begotten by a man who approaches in the proper season a woman of equal caste, who has not belonged to another man, and who has been married

legally, have a right to follow the occupations (of their castes).

"2. And to inherit the estate.

"8. Transgression of the law and violence are found among the ancients.

"9. They committed no sin on account of the greatness of their lustre.

"10. A man of later times who, seeing their deeds, follows them, falls.

"11. The gift (or acceptance of a child) and the right to sell (or buy) a child are not recognized." *Âpastamba*, II, 6, 13.

Elsewhere Âpastamba says:

"2. (A husband) shall not make over his (wife), who occupies the position of a 'gentilis,' to others than to his 'gentiles' in order to cause children to be begot for himself.

"3. For they declare that a bride is given to the family.

"4. That is (at present) forbidden on account of the weakness of men's senses.

"5. The hand of a 'gentilis' is considered in law to be that of a stranger, as well as that of any other person except the husband.

"6. If the marriage vow is transgressed, both husband and wife certainly go to hell.

"7. The reward (in the next world) resulting from observing the restrictions of the law is preferable to

offspring obtained in this manner (by Niyoga)." *Âpastamba*, II, 10, 27.

Thus Âpastamba makes a clear sweep not only of Niyoga or appointment of a wife to raise issue, but also of the adoption or the buying of a son. It must not be supposed, however, that the ancient customs fell into disuse at once. On the contrary, we find these customs alluded to in Manu and other metrical codes compiled after the close of the Rationalistic Period, and adoption survives to this day.

There is the same dissimilarity of opinion in respect of the partition of property among brothers. The law of primogeniture never obtained in India, but so long as the joint family system remained in vogue, the property of the father was inherited by the eldest son, who supported the rest as a father. It would seem, however, that to live in a joint family under the eldest brother was never the universal custom in India, and even Gautama, the earliest of the Sûtrakâras whose works are extant, considers a partition among brothers preferable, for "in partition there is an increase of spiritual merit." (XXVIII, 4.)

According to Gautama the eldest son gets as an additional share a twentieth part of the estate, some animals and a carriage; the middlemost son gets some poor animals, and the youngest get sheep, grain, utensils, a house, a cart, and some animals; and then the remaining property is equally divided. Or he would

allow the eldest two shares, and the remaining sons one share each; or he would allow them each to take one kind of property by choice according to seniority; or the special shares may be adjusted according to their mothers. (XXVIII, 5 to 17.)

Further on he says that the property of not reunited brothers, dying without issue, goes to the eldest brother; that the property of a reunited co-parcener goes to the co-parcener; that what a learned co-parcener has acquired by his own efforts he may withhold from his unlearned co-parceners, and that unlearned co-parceners should divide their acquisitions equally. (XXVIII, 27 to 31.)

And lastly, Gautama lays down that a Brâhman's son by a Kshatriya wife, if the eldest, shares equally with a younger brother by a Brâhman wife, and the same rule holds good between the sons of a Kshatriya by a Vaisya wife as between those of a Brâhman by a Kshatriya wife. The son by a Sûdra wife if righteous receives a provision by maintenance, while even the son of a wife of equal caste does not inherit if he be living unrighteously. (XXVIII, 35 to 40.)

Vasishtha allows the eldest brother to take a double share and a little of the kine and horses; he allows the youngest to take the goats, sheep and house, while the middlemost gets utensils and furniture. And if a Brâhman has sons by Brâhman, Kshatriya and Vaisya wives, the first gets three shares, the second two

shares, and the third, *i. e.*, the son by the Vaisya wife, gets one share. (XVII, 42 to 50.)

Baudhâyana allows all the children to take equal shares, or the eldest son to take one-tenth in excess. Where there are sons born of wives of different castes, the sons will take four, three, two and one shares, according to the order of the castes. (II, 2, 3, 2 to 10).

Âpastamba differs in this respect also from his predecessors and protests against unequal division of property. He quotes the opinion giving a preference to the eldest son, examines the texts on which the opinion is based, argues that the texts make a statement of facts and is not a rule, and therefore declares the preference of the eldest son to be forbidden. All sons who are virtuous inherit, but he who spends money unrighteously shall be disinherited, though he be the eldest son. (II, 6, 14, 1 to 15.)

The separate property, *viz.* the nuptial presents and ornaments of a wife, were inherited by her daughters (*Gautama*, XXVIII, 24; *Vasisytha*, XVII, 46; *Baudhâyana*, II, 2, 3, 43.) Âpastamba says that on the failure of sons, the daughter may inherit (II, 6, 14, 4).

Our account of the system of laws of the Rationalistic Period has been long, but our readers will not probably regret it. For the legal system as well as the philosophy of this period shews unmistakeably the vast distance of time between this and the Epic Age, and shews the culture, the training, and the practical

method of dealing with intricate subjects which had been achieved during centuries of civilization. Everything that was confused during the Epic Period was brought to order and subjected to a severe method of reasoning; everything that was discursive was condensed; everything that was vague and uncertain was dealt with in a practical manner. The same religious acts, Srauta and Grihya, were still performed, but the elaborate and endless discussions of the Brâhmanas had disappeared, and religious rites were performed under strict and carefully condensed rules. Criminal offences and civil cases were no longer dealt with according to the vague and varying opinions and feelings of learned men and priests, those opinions were arranged, condensed and codified into bodies of laws which learned men were called upon to administer. The caste-system itself, which was still pliable in the Epic Period, was unfortunately made more rigid, more in accordance with the inviolable codified rules of the Rationalistic Period; and the whole social system of the Hindus underwent a similar rigid treatment. And lastly, the bold but vague speculations of the Upanishads were matured into closely-reasoned systems of philosophy, and grammar, and geometry, and other branches of learning received the same scientific treatment.

CHAPTER V.

CASTE.

BUT the gain was not all one side nor the loss on the other. Social manners, as we have stated, underwent the same rigid system of arrangement which pervades the literature and learning of the Rationalistic Period. The system of caste was still a pliable institution in the Epic Period; but the rules of caste were made more rigid and inflexible in the Rationalistic Period, no doubt in order to bring society into better order, and to secure immediate gain, but to the detriment of future progress. Sages and legislators are excellent judges of the laws and institutions which are most conducive to progress in their own times; but no laws and institutions can be made permanent and immutable without interfering with the natural progress of a society capable of advancement in successive ages. Rigid and inflexible social rules therefore, which are further hallowed by the sanction of religion, serve only to hamper and restrain a nation in its onward march in civilization. But the grave error, the national misfortune, should in justice be attributed not to those wise men who framed rules for their own guidance under the conditions of ancient

society, but to those who, from want of religious energy and of political life, have failed to modify the rules in accordance with the requirements of modern society. Nor would it be philosophical to blame the modern priestly caste for upholding its privileges and maintaining caste inequality. Priestly supremacy is inevitable when the people are superstitious, just as kingly despotism is inevitable when the people are politically lifeless. Nations are themselves to a great extent responsible for their fate; and the people of modern India have to thank themselves for still consenting to wear the broken links of an ancient chain round their necks, and for remaining willing bondsmen to their dethroned priestly masters.

We have seen that in the Epic Age an inviolable line had not yet been drawn between members of different castes. According to one remarkable passage in the Aitariya Brâhmana, the descendants of a member of one caste might enter another by following the profession of the latter; while, according to another equally remarkable passage in the Satapatha Brâhmana, a Brâhman was a Brâhman by knowledge of religion and not by birth. Numerous instances have also been cited to shew that men of low birth actually entered the priestly caste by their knowledge and virtues; that the priestly caste did not acquire a monopoly of religious learning; that they often came as humble pupils to Kshatriya kings to acquire religious knowledge.

We lose sight of all this, or nearly all this, in the Rationalistic Period. The rules of caste became more rigid, and it was impossible for the members of a lower caste to enter within the pale of priesthood. A Kshatriya or a Vaisya might be a Brâhman in succeeding births, but neither he nor his descendants could ever enter the priestly caste. We should remember however that a great body of Hindus broke away altogether in this period from the caste rules and followed the leadership of Gautama Buddha. And this fact in itself explains to some extent the greater care and rigidity with which those who remained within the orthodox pale were guarded and chained.

While the caste rules were made more rigid and inviolable in the Rationalistic Period, the real origin of the system was forgotten. We have seen that in the Epic Period the priests and warriors formed castes of their own; that the mass of the Aryan people remained Vaisyas; while the Hinduized non-Aryans were the Sûdras. New tribes of aborigines, as they entered the Hindu community, still followed their ancestral professions and formed different castes at the lowest end of the ladder; and we have found the names of some of these non-Aryan tribes or castes in the White Yajur Veda.

This intelligible and historical origin of the caste-system was entirely lost sight of or ignored in the Rationalistic Period, and a theory was sought for and

obtained which made each caste distinct from the rest by its very origin and inherent formation! The strange fiction was then conceived that the different castes were created by a sort of permutation and combination among the men and women of the few parent castes! A child of twelve would hardly accept it as true, if he was told, that the medical profession of Modern Europe for instance has sprung from a valiant knight of the Middle Ages who once took a fancy to a barber's pretty maiden; or that modern novelists are descended from a monkish scribe who once upon a time left the convent, fascinated by the merry glances of a Troubadour's daughter! Strange, ridiculous, childish as such a theory is, it has been scrupulously adhered to in India by Manu and all the later legal writers, and obtains credence to the present day!

Vasishtha says:—

"1. They declare that the offspring of a Sûdra and of a female of the Brâhman caste, becomes a Chandâla.

"2. That of a Sûdra and of a female of the Kshatriya caste, a Vaina.

"3. That of a Sûdra and of a female of the Vaisya caste, an Antyâvasâyin.

"4. They declare that the son begotten by a Vaisya on a female of the Brâhman caste becomes a Râmaka.

"5. The son begotten by the same on a female of the Kshatriya caste, a Paulkasa.

"6. They declare that the son begotten by a Kshatriya on a female of the Brâhman caste becomes a Sûta.

"8. Children begotten by Brâhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas on females of the next lower, second lower and third lower castes become respectively Ambashthas, Ugras and Nishâdas.

"9. The son of a Brâhman and of a Sûdra woman is a Pârasava." *Vasishtha*, XVIII.

Baudhâyana is somewhat different.

"6. Sons begotten on wives of equal *or of the next lower castes* are called *of equal caste.*

"7. Those born of wives of the second or third lower castes become Ambashthas, Ugras and Nishâdas.

"8. Of females wedded in the inverse order of the castes are born Âyogavas, Mâgadhas, Vainas, Kshattris, Paulkasas, Kukkutakas, Vaidehakas and Chandâlas." *Baudhâyana*, I, 9, 16.

Again,—

"3. A Brâhman begets on a female of the Kshatriya caste a Brâhman, on a female of the Vaisya caste an Ambashtha, on a female of the Sûdra caste a Nishâda.

"4. According to some, a Pârasava.

"5. A Kshatriya begets on a female of the Vaisya caste a Kshatriya, on a female of the Sûdra caste an Ugra.

"6. A Vaisya begets on a female of the Sûdra caste a Rathakâra.

"7. A Sûdra begets on a female of the Vaisya caste a Mâgadha, on a female of the Kshatriya caste a Kshattri, but on a female of the Brâhman caste a Chandâla.

"8. A Vaisya begets on a female of the Kshatriya caste an Âyogava, on a female of the Brâhman caste a Sûta."

And so a Svapâka has an Ugra father and a Kshattri mother; a Vaina has a Vaidehaka father and an Ambashtha mother; a Paulkasa has a Nishâda father and a Sûdra mother; a Kukkutaka has a Sûdra father and a Nishâda mother; and "the wise declare those sprung by an intermixture of the castes to be Vrâtyas." *Baudhâyana*, I, 9, 17.

But the wise are surely mistaken, for the Vrâtyas were Aryans like the best born Aryan Brâhmans and Kshatriyas, but did not practise Brâhmanical ceremonies, as stated in Book II, Chapter VIII.

Gautama's enumeration is comprehensive as well as brief, and we will therefore extract it.

"16. Children born in the regular order of the wives of the next, second or third lower castes become Savarnas, *i. e.*, of equal caste, Ambashthas, Ugras, Nishâdas, Daushyantas, and Pârasavas.

"17. Children born in the inverted order (of wives of higher castes) become Sûtas, Mâgadhas, Âyogavas, Kshattris, Vaidehakas, or Chandâlas.

"18. Some declare that a woman of the Brâhman

caste has borne successively to husbands of the four castes sons who are Brâhmans, Sûtas, Mâgadhas or Chandâlas;

"19. And that a woman of the Kshatriya caste has borne to the same Murdhâvasiktas, Kshatriyas, Dhîvaras, Paulkasas.

"20. Further, a woman of the Vaisya caste has borne to the same Bhrigyakanthas, Mâhishyas, Vaisyas and Vaidehas.

"21. And a woman of the Sûdra caste to the same Pârasavas, Yavanas, Karanas and Sûdras." *Gautama*, IV.

Here we have an authoritative statement which may well stagger the most faithful believer! Mâgadhas and Vaidehas, who were different races, Chandâlas and Paulkasas, who were undoubtedly non-Aryan tribes, and even Yavanas, who were Bactrian Greeks and foreigners, were all treated by the same general and rigid law which recognized no exception—and were all declared to be descended directly or indirectly from the parent castes! And as the Hindus came to know other foreign nations later on, the elastic theory was stretched, and Manu derived those nations too from the same Hindu parent castes!

It is remarkable however that the castes or races named above, of whom such a strange origin has been expounded, are nearly all aboriginal tribes or foreigners, or Aryans who had incurred odium by their partiality for scepticism and Buddhism. We do not find names of re-

spectable profession-castes, answering to the Kâyasthas, the Vaidyas, or even the goldsmiths, the blacksmiths, the potters, the weavers, and other artizans of modern India. How were these professions classed in ancient India, if they were not classed as separate castes? The reply is plain, that the great and yet undivided Vaisya caste of the Rationalistic Period still embraced all those different professions which in modern times have been divided and disunited into castes.* The Aryan Vaisyas followed different trades and professions in Ancient India, without forming separate castes; they were scribes and physicians, goldsmiths and blacksmiths, potters and weavers, while still belonging to the same common Vaisya caste. Thus the great body of the Aryan population was still united, and was still entitled to religious knowledge and learning, and the

* One instance will suffice. The Vaidyas or physician caste of Bengal were unknown in the Rationalistic Period, but later tradition has applied to them the same fiction that was developed in the Rationalistic Period, and the Vaidyas are said to have descended from the union of men and women of different castes. And yet common sense would suggest that they are the descendants of a section of the Aryan people,—the Vaisyas,—who specially applied themselves to one particular science as soon as the science was sufficiently developed to call for special application, and thus in course of time formed a hereditary caste. This view receives a curious confirmation from the name which the Bengal Vaidyas still bear. All Vaidyas are Guptas (Sena Guptas, Dâsa Guptas, &c.) Now there are passages in the Sûtra literature which clearly lay down that all Brâhmans are Sarmans, all Kshatriyas are Barmans, and *all Vaisyas are Guptas.* We will quote such a passage further on in Chapter VIII of this Book.

worst features of the modern caste system had not therefore yet manifested themselves in the Rationalistic Age.

The study of the Veda, the performance of sacrifices, and the gift of alms are prescribed for all twice born men, *i.e.*, for Brâhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. The special and additional occupations of a Brâhman are the performance of sacrifice for others, and the receiving of alms, and agriculture and trade were also allowed to him *provided he did not work himself.* (*Gautama*, X, 5.) The abuses begotten of the privileges of caste had already commenced as early as the Rationalistic Period, and Brâhmans, relieved of manual labour, had already commenced to feed on the resources of the industrious classes, without acquiring that learning which would alone justify their exemption from labour. Vasishtha felt the abuse and the injustice keenly, and protested against idlers being supported and fed, in language which could only be indited when Hinduism was still a living nation's religion.

"1. (Brâhmans) who neither study nor teach the Veda nor keep sacred fires *become equal to Sûdras.*

"4. The king shall punish that village where Brâhmans unobservant of their sacred duties and ignorant of the Veda, subsist by begging, *for it feeds robbers.*

"6. The sin that *dunces, perplexed by ignorance,* and unacquainted with the sacred law, declare to be duty,

shall fall, increased a hundred fold, on those who propound it.

"11. An elephant made of wood, an antelope made of leather, and a Brâhman ignorant of the Veda, those three have nothing but the name of their kind.

"12. Those kingdoms where ignorant men eat the food of the learned will be visited by drought; or some other great evil will befall them." *Vasishtha*, III.

Vasishtha could scarcely have foreseen how terribly his wise prophesy was to be fulfilled in time.

The additional occupations of the Kshatriya were governing and fighting and making conquests, to learn the management of chariots and the use of the bow, and to stand firm in battle and not to turn back. (*Gautama*, X, 15 and 16). The special occupations of Vaisyas were trade, agriculture, tending cattle, lending money and labour for gain, (*Gautama*, X, 49). Sûdras were to serve the other three castes, but were also allowed to labour for gain (*Gautama*, X, 42); and there can be no doubt they traded and earned money by independent work to a large extent in the Rationalistic Period as in all succeeding periods. Religious knowledge was however forbidden to Sûdras.

"To see ourselves as others see us" is always a gain, and hence although our account of the caste system derived from our ancient Sûtras has been long, we will now examine how that system was regarded by foreigners. It is quite evident that the seven castes

spoken of by Megasthenes are virtually the four castes spoken of above. His philosophers and councillors were the Brâhmans, those who engaged themselves in religious study, and those who took employment under the State respectively. His husbandmen, shepherds and artizans were the Vaisyas and Sûdras who engaged themselves in cultivation, in pasture and in manufacture. And his soldiers were the Kshatriyas; while his overseers were only special servants, spies of the king.

Megasthenes further sub-divides the philosophers into Brâhmans and house-holders and Srâmans or ascetics. Of the former he says that "the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in age, each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor. The philosophers have their abode in a grove in front of the city within a moderate sized enclosure. They live in a simple style, and lie on beds of rushes or (deer) skins. They abstain from animal food and sensual pleasures, and spend their time listening to religious discourse and in importing their knowledge to such as will listen to them. * * After living in this manner for seven and thirty years each individual retires to his own property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ease and security. They then array themselves in fine muslin, and wear a few trinkets of gold in their fingers and in their ears. They eat flesh, but not that of animals employed in labour. They

abstain from hot and highly seasoned food. They marry as many wives as they please, with a view to have numerous children, for by having many wives, greater advantages are enjoyed, and since they have no slaves, they have more need to have children around them to attend to their wants."

Of the Srâmans or ascetics, Megasthenes tells us that "they live in the wood, where they subsist on leaves of trees and wild fruits and wear garments made from the bark of trees. * * They communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers, regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity." Of those who practised medicines Megasthenes writes: "by their knowledge of pharmacy they can make marriages fruitful, and determine the sex of the offspring. They effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed are ointments and plasters." We learn from this account, as we learn from other sources, that sects of ascetics subsisting on roots and wild fruits, lived in Ancient India and bore the name of Srâmans before and after the time of Gautama Buddha. And when that great reformer preached a holy life and retirement from the world, as the essence of his religion, his followers, who retired from the world, were called Sâkyaputrîya Srâmans, or ascetics who followed the Sâkya,—to distinguish them from other sects of ascetics.

Elsewhere Megasthenes says of the Philosopher-caste that they, "Being exempted from all public duties, are neither the masters nor the servants of others. They are however engaged by private persons to offer the sacrifices due in life-time, and to celebrate the obsequies of the dead. * * They forewarn assembled multitudes about droughts and wet weather and also about propitious winds and diseases." We have thus a brief but intelligent sketch from the hand of an impartial foreigner of the life which the Brâhmans lived in the Rationalistic Period. They gave religious instruction to the young, they presided at sacrifices and funeral ceremonies, they advised villagers and cultivators about weather and harvests, and they also prescribed simple medicines for various diseases. Kings looked up to them for advice in emergencies, and the class of Brâhmans whom Megasthenes considers a separate caste and calls councillors, also advised the king in state affairs, were entrusted with the treasury, and were the judges in civil and criminal cases. The educated classes looked up to the Brâhmans for priestly advice and assistance at large sacrifices, while the humble cultivators consulted the wise men about the prospects of the year. With the gradual decline of the nation the caste so universally honored gradually came to abuse its privileges, and tried to strengthen by superstition that pre-eminence which was first acquired by sanctity and knowledge.

Of the military class or the Kshatriya caste Megasthenes gives a very brief sketch. The soldiers were organized and equipped for war, but in times of peace gave themselves up to idleness and amusements.

"The entire force, men-at-arms, war-horses, war-elephants, and all are maintained at the king's expense." It was the duty of the overseers to inquire into all that went on in India and report them to the king.

Of the husbandmen, shepherds and artizans, who obviously were the Vaisya and Sûdra castes, Megasthenes gives us a more interesting and life-like sketch. Being exempted from fighting and other public services, the husbandmen "devote the whole of their time to tillage; *nor would an enemy, coming upon a husbandman at work on his land, do him any harm*, for men of this class, being regarded as public benefactors, are protected from all injury. The land thus remaining unravaged, and producing heavy crops, supplies the inhabitants with all that is requisite to make life very enjoyable. * * They pay a land tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land tribute, they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil."*

* Megasthenes must have made a mistake here, or is describing the exceptionally rigorous land tax imposed by Chandragupta. The land tax in India was one-sixth the produce, and there was no separate tribute beyond this.

"The shepherds neither settle in towns nor in villages but live in tents.* By hunting and trapping they clear the country of noxious birds and wild beasts. Of the artizans some are armourers, while others make the implements which husbandmen and others find useful in their different callings. This class is not only exempted from paying taxes but even receives maintenance from the royal exchequer."

* This description must refer to some tribes of aborigines who were scarcely yet completely Hinduized.

CHAPTER VI.

AGRICULTURE AND ARTS.

WE learn from the Greek writers what we already know from the ancient literature of India that the time-honored *dhuti* and *chaddar* (which latter served as a *pagri* also) formed the national dress in Ancient India. Arrian quotes a passage from Nearchos and says that the Indians "wear an under-garment of cotton which reaches below the knee half way down to the ankles, and also an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders and partly twist in folds round their head. * * They wear shoes made of white leather, and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated, and made of great thickness." And the great mass of the "people of India live upon grain and are tillers of the soil, but we must except the hillmen who eat the flesh of beasts of chase."

Our faithful guide Megasthenes also gives us an account of cultivation in Ancient India which, on the whole, corresponds with the system of cultivation at the present time, except that Megasthenes speaks of a double rainfall in the year, considering the winter showers as a regular rainfall. He speaks of "many vast plains of great fertility, more or less beautiful,

but all alike intersected by a multitude of rivers. *The greater part of the soil moreover is under irrigation*, and consequently bears two crops in the course of the year. It teems at the same time with animals of all sorts, beasts of the field and fowls of the air, of all different degrees of strength and size. It is prolific, besides, in elephants which are of monstrous bulk. * * In addition to cereals, there grows throughout India much millet, which is kept well watered by the profusion of river streams, and much pulse of different sorts, and rice also, and what is called *bosporum*, as well as many other plants useful for food, of which most grow spontaneously. The soil yields moreover not a few other edible products fit for the subsistence of animals about which it would be tedious to write. It is accordingly affirmed that *famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food.* For since there is a double rainfall in the course of each year,—one in the winter season when the sowing of wheat takes place as in other countries, and the second at the time of the summer solstice, which is the proper season for sowing rice and *bosporum*, as well as sesamum and millet,—the inhabitants of India almost always gather in two harvests annually; and even should one of the sowings prove more or less abortive, they are always sure of the other crop. The fruits moreover of spontaneous growth, and the esculent roots which grow

in marshy places and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man. * * But, further, there are usages observed by the Indians which contribute to prevent the occurrence of famine among them; for whereas among other nations, it is usual, in the contest of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict, make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees."

It is impossible for a Hindu in the modern day to read without a feeling of pride this impartial testimony of an intelligent and observant foreigner regarding the prosperous condition of India as administered by Hindus over two thousand years ago. An industrious and intelligent peasantry peopled their fair villages and cultivated and irrigated, carefully and laboriously, the endless expanse of fertile fields, while the artizans carried the various manufactures and arts of peace to a high state of excellence. It is impossible to suppose that these results were achieved without a careful and watchful system of administration, without a fair degree of security of life and property, and without the help

of laws which were on the whole just and fair, although stained by invidious distinctions based on caste. And even when kings fell out among themselves, and riotous Kshatriya chiefs were engaged in their frequent wars, a humane custom, unknown elsewhere in the ancient world, mitigated the horrors of war, and saved the peaceful villagers and industrious cultivators from disturbance and danger.

The excellent manufactures of India were known to the traders of Phœnicia and in the markets of Alexandria long before the Christian era. Megasthenes naïvely says that the Indians were "well skilled in the arts, as might be expected of men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water." The soil, too, has "under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron, in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament as well as the implements and accoutrements of war."

We have elsewhere given an account of town architecture, and have only to add that the oldest *stone buildings* the ruins of which still exist in India, belong to the Rationalistic Period. Such, for instance, are the *Baithak* of *Jarâsandha*, and the walls of old Râjagriha in, Behar which General Cunningham assigns to a period anterior to the 5th century before Christ; and such also are many of the Buddhist caves like those

of Khandagiri and Udayagiri in Orissa which are anterior to the time of Alexander. We have also spoken of the arms and accoutrements of war in a previous section. But the most remarkable progress was made in finery and ornament such as Hindus have always been fond of. Megasthenes says that "in contrast to the general simplicity of their style they love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin. Attendants walking behind hold up umbrellas over them: for they have a high regard for beauty and avail themselves of every device to improve their looks."

Vasishtha in his chapter on Purification speaks of objects of gold, silver and copper, of stones and gems, and conch shells and pearl shells like gems, as well as of things made of bone, wood, leather, cloth, &c. (III, 49 to 63). More striking, however, is a passage in which Strabo describes a gorgeous procession such as Megasthenes must have seen paraded in the streets of Pâtaliputra.

"In processions at their festivals, many elephants are in the train, adorned with gold and silver; numerous carriages drawn by four horses by several pairs of oxen; then follows a body of attendants in full dress (bearing) vessels of gold, large basins and goblets, an *orguia* in breadth, tables, chairs of state, drinking cups and lavers of Indian copper, most of

which are set with precious stones, as emeralds, beryls, and Indian carbuncles; garments embroidered and interwoven with gold; wild beasts as buffaloes, panthers, tame lions and a multitude of birds of variegated plumage and of fine song." *Bohn's Translation of Strabo*, III, p. 117.

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIAL LIFE: THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

"A FATHER who has committed a crime causing loss of caste must be cast off. *But a mother does not become an outcast for her son.*

"Now they quote also (the following verses): 'The teacher (Âchârya) is ten times more venerable than a sub-teacher (Upâdhyâya),* the father a hundred times more than the teacher, *and the mother a thousand times more than the father.*" *Vasishtha*, XIII, 47 & 48.

Such is the respect for a mother which the ancient religion of the Hindus enjoins, and every true Hindu cherishes and follows that maxim faithfully.

We saw in our account of the Epic Period that ladies sometimes devoted themselves to the pursuit of philosophy, that Gârgî Vâchaknavî distinguished herself among the learned men in the court of Janaka, and that Maitreyî learnt the secrets of the Upanishads from her husband Yâjnavalkya, the priest of Janaka. Megasthenes is a witness to the fact that sacred learn-

* Elsewhere Vasishtha defines an Âchârya and an Upâdhyâya. He who initiates a pupil and teaches him the whole Veda is called Âchârya; but he who teaches a portion of the Veda only, or the Vedângas, is called the Upâdhyâya.—III, 21 to 23.

ing and philosophy were not forbidden in the Rationalistic Period to such ladies as desired to devote themselves to such studies.

Polygamy was allowed in India, but was, as we have remarked before, probably confined to the wealthier classes. The religion of India did not encourage that unwholesome institution, but only permitted it to ensure male issue. Âpastamba distinctly declares—

"12. If he has a wife who is willing and able to perform her share of the religious duties, and who bears sons, *he shall not take a second.*

"13. If a wife is deficient in one of these two qualities, he shall take another, but before he kindles the fires (of the Agnihotra)." II, 5, 11.

The insanity, impotency, loss of caste or death of a husband were the circumstances (*Vasishtha*, XVII, 20), which justified a woman to marry again. The circumstances which justified a husband to abandon his wife are mentioned in an ancient and well-known passage which is quoted in Baudhâyana, and which we find in Manu.

"Let him abandon a barren wife in the tenth year, one who bears daughters only in the twelfth, one whose children all die in the fifteenth, but her who is quarrelsome without delay." *Baudhâyana*, II, 2, 4, 6. Leaving out the last clause, which was never seriously intended to be followed, it will be observed that it was only the desire for male issue among the ancient

Hindus which was the origin of this unjust law of abandonment of a wife. The abandonment probably only meant that the husband took another wife, but still maintained his first wife, as a member of the family, and this is the practice which is still sometimes observed. To send a virtuous wife adrift in the world, because she is incapable of bearing male issue, is a practice unknown in India, and would bring disgrace and dishonour on the family. To unjustly forsake a wife without an adequate reason was looked upon with horror in the Sûtra days, and a penance was prescribed for the sin which young India may remember with advantage. "He who has unjustly forsaken his wife shall put on an ass's skin, with the hair turned outside, and beg in seven houses, saying 'give alms to him who forsook his wife.' That shall be his livelihood for six months. *Âpastamba*, I, 10, 28, 19."

It is in the Sûtras that we first find mention of the different forms of marriage with which we are familiar from the codes of Manu, Vishnu, &c. Vasishtha mentions only six forms, *viz.*:—

Brâhma marriage; the father pours out a libation of water and gives his daughter to a suitor, a student.

Daiva marriage; the father decks his daughter with ornaments and gives her to an officiating priest, when sacrifice is being performed.

Ârsha marriage; the father gives his daughter for a cow or a bull.

Gândharva marriage; when a lover takes a loving damsel.

Kshâtra (or *Râkshasa*) marriage; when a bridegroom forcibly takes a damsel, destroying her relatives by strength of arms.

Mânusha (or *Âsura*) marriage; when a suitor purchases a damsel from her father.

Âpastamba, too, recognizes only these six forms of marriage, but calls the Kshâtra marriage by the name Râkshasa and the Mânusa marriage by the name Âsura. Âpastamba further mentions the first three forms only, *viz.*, the Brâhma, the Daiva and the Ârsha, as praiseworthy.

Gautama and Baudhâyana prescribe, however, eight forms of marriage, adding to the above six forms one rite, Prâjâpatya, which was considered praiseworthy, and another form *Paisâcha*, which was sinful. In the Prâjâpatya form the father simply gave away his daughter to the suitor, saying, "Fulfil ye the law conjointly." The Paisâcha form was simply a form of rape, when a man embraced a woman deprived of consciousness. We must remember that Gautama and Baudhâyana are older authorities than Vasishtha and Âpastamba, and the inference therefore is that two of the old forms were omitted by the later authorities, because they scarcely considered those forms to be marriage rites.

Marriages among kinsfolk were rigorously pro-

hibited in the Rationalistic Period. Vasishtha prohibits marriage between a man and a woman of the same *Gotra* or *Pravara* or who are related within four degrees on the mother's side or within six degrees on the father's side. (VIII, 1 and 2.) Âpastamba prohibits marriage between men and women of the same *Gotra*, or who are related (within six degrees) on the mother's or (father's) side. (II, 5, 11, 15 and 16.) But Baudhâyana allows a man to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or a paternal aunt. (I, 1, 2, 4.)

The marriage of girls at a tender age was probably unknown in the Vedic Period and even in the Epic Period. The custom gradually came into vogue in the Rationalistic Period, but was yet unsettled in that period as we may infer from contradictory rules on the subject. Vasishtha says:—

"67. A maiden who has attained puberty *shall wait for three years.*

"68. After three years, she may take a husband of equal caste.

"69. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'But if through a father's negligence a maiden is here given away after the suitable age has passed, she who was waiting destroys him who gives her away, just as the fee which is paid too late to the teacher (destroys the pupil).'

"70. Out of fear of the appearance of the menses let the father marry his daughter while she still runs

about naked (*i. e.*, while she is still a child). 'For if she stays after the age of puberty, sin falls on the father.'

"74. 'If a damsel at the death of her husband had been merely wedded by sacred texts, and if the marriage had not been consummated, she may be married again.' " *Vasishtha*, XVII.

Thus though women were sometimes married in their childhood, yet child-widows were allowed to re-marry again in the Rationalistic Period.

The above passage, however, indicates that the marriage of widows, which was a prevalent custom in the Vedic and Epic Periods, became gradually restricted in the Rationalistic Period, and except in the case of child-widows, was not looked upon with favour. The son of a widow married again was, as will appear from passages quoted in a previous chapter, often classed with adopted sons, or sons by an appointed wife or daughter.

The rules about funeral ceremonies and mourning have been laid down in detail in the Sûtras, but we are unable to make room for many extracts. Vasishtha says that after burning the body of the deceased the relatives shall enter the water; pour out water facing the south, for the south is sacred to the manes; and that on their return home they shall sit on mats, and fast or live on poor food for three days. *Sapinda* relationship extends to the seventh person in the

ascending or descending line, and the impurity caused by death lasts for ten days in the case of Sapindas. (IV, 11 to 17.) At the *Srâddha* or funeral sacrifice the bereaved will feed a small number of Brâhmans, or "even a single Brâhman who has studied the whole Veda, who is distinguished by learning and virtue, and is free from all evil marks." (XI, 29.) The performance of Srâddhas could scarcely have been so advantageous to Brâhmans under the above rule as it is in modern times! And lastly in a remarkable verse Vasishtha says,—"The manes consider him to be their descendant who offers food at Gayâ, and they grant him blessings, just as husbandmen or well ploughed fields." (XI, 42.) The passage appears to be a later interpolation.

Gautama says that Sapinda relationship ceases with the fifth or the seventh (ancestor), and lays down that Sapindas remain impure for ten days after the death, but that a Kshatriya remains impure eleven days, a Vaisya twelve days, and a Sûdra one month. On the failure of sons Sapindas can offer the funeral oblation. He recommends the feeding of at least nine Brâhmans, but they must be Srotriyas. (XIV, 1 to 5, 13, and XV, 7 to 9.)

Baudhâyana includes only the great-grandfather, the grandfather, the father, oneself, the brothers, the son, grandson and great-grandson among Sapindas. (I, 5, 11, 9.) Âpastamba extends the Sapinda rela-

tionship to blood relations within six degrees. (II, 6, 15, 2.)

Such are some of the rules laid down in the Dharma Sûtras for marriages and funeral ceremonies. We will now briefly review the rules laid down in the same Sûtras regarding the conduct of a student and that of a householder.

The turning point of a young man's life seems to have been his initiation as a student. A Brâhman boy was initiated between 8 and 16, a Kshatriya between 11 and 22, and a Vaisya between 12 and 24. The initiated boy then lived as a religious student in the house of his teacher for 12, 24, 36 or 48 years, according as he wished to master one, two, three or the four Vedas. During this period of his life he avoided all spiced food, perfumes and articles of luxury, he tied his hair in a knot, he bore a staff and a girdle and a cloth of flax or hemp or even only a skin. Avoiding all places of amusement and of pleasure, restraining his senses, modest and humble, the young student went out every morning with his staff to beg for food from charitable householders in the neighbouring villages, and all that he obtained in the course of the day, he placed before his teacher; and he only tasted food after his teacher had done with his meals. He went to the forest to fetch fuel, and evening and morning he fetched water for household use. Every morning he swept and cleaned the

altar, kindled the fire and placed the sacred fuel on it, and every evening he washed his teacher's feet and rubbed him and put him to bed, before he retired to rest. Such was the humble, obedient and simple life which ancient Hindu students led, when they devoted all the energies of their mind to the acquisition of the sacred learning of their forefathers.

Instruction, it is needless to repeat, was imparted by rote. The student respectfully held the hand of his teacher and fixed his mind on the teacher and said "Venerable sir, recite," and the Sâvitrî (the well known Gâyatrî verse of the Rig Veda) was recited, and learnt as the introduction to the learning of the Vedas (*Gautama*, I, 55, 56). And from day to day new lessons were recited and learnt, the student dividing his day's work between minding his lessons and minding the household work of his teacher.

When after years of study, often under different teachers, the student at last returned to his home, he made a handsome gift to his instructors, married and settled down as a householder or *snâtaka, i.e.*, a man who has bathed after his studentship is over. *Agnihotra*, or the morning and evening libations in the holy fire, and hospitality to strangers are enjoined on him as his principal duties (*Âpastamba*, I, 4, 14). The Sûtrakâras are never tired with impressing on every householder their paramount duty of courtesy and hospitality towards guests, for the reception of guests

is an everlasting sacrifice offered by the householder to Prajâpati. *Âpastamba*, II, 3, 7, 1.

Besides the order of the student and that of the householder, there were two other orders of life, *viz.*, those of the ascetic (Bhikshu), and that of the hermit (Vaikhânasa). We learn from later Sanscrit literature that a typical or perfect life was the life of a man who belonged to these four orders in successive periods of his life. 'Âpastamba, too, who is one of the latest of the Sûtrakâras, says that "if he lives in all these four (orders of life) * * he will obtain salvation." (II, 9, 21, 2.) But this was not probably the original idea, and in early times a man might have chosen to spend the whole of his life in one of these four orders. Thus Vasishtha says that a man after completing his education may, according to his choice, embrace one of the four orders for the rest of his life (VII, 3), and Baudhâyana too quotes a rule that a man on finishing his education may be an ascetic at once (II, 10, 17, 2). It is needless for our purpose to dwell on rules laid down for an ascetic and a hermit respectively. It will suffice to state that an ascetic shaved his head, had no property or home, practised austerities, fasted or lived on alms, wore a single garment or a skin, slept on the bare ground, and wandered about from place to place, discontinued the performance of all religious ceremonies, but never discontinued the study of the Veda or the contemplation of the Universal Soul (*Vasishtha*,

X). A hermit, on the other hand, though living in woods, living on roots and fruits and leading a chaste life, kindled the sacred fire and offered the morning and evening libations (*Vasishth*, IX).

Numerous are the sacraments which have been prescribed for householders who form the best of the four orders. For the householders, and not hermits and ascetics, formed the nation, and "as rivers, both great and small, find a resting place in the ocean, even so men of all orders find protection with householders" (*Vasishtha*, VIII, 15).

No less than forty sacraments have been prescribed for the householder (*Gautama*, VIII, 14 to 20), and as we will describe some of these rites in the next chapter, it is necessary only to enumerate them here.

Domestic Ceremonies.—(1) Garbhâdhâna (ceremony to cause conception); (2) Pumsavana (ceremony to cause the birth of a male child); (3) Sîmantonnayana (arranging the hair of the pregnant wife); (4) Jâtakarman (ceremony on birth of a child); (5) ceremony of naming the child; (6) the first feeding; (7) the tonsure of the head; (8) the initiation; (9 to 12) the four vows for the study of the Veda; (13) the bath or completion of studentship; (14) marriage, or, as it is called, the taking a helpmate for the performance of religious duties; and (15 to 19) the five sacrifices to gods, manes, men, goblins, and the Brahman or Universal Soul.

Grihya religious rites, also called *Pâkayajnas*.—They have been already alluded to in Chapter I of this Book, but for facility of reference, we will again enumerate them here. (1) Astakâ, or rites performed in winter; (2) Pârvana, or new and full moon rites; (3) Srâddha, or funeral sacrifices; (4) Srâvanî, a rite performed on the full moon of Srâvana month; (5) Âgrahâyanî, performed in the Agrahâyana month; (6) Chaitrî, performed in the month of Chaitra; and (7) Âsvayugî, performed in the month of Âsvina.

Srauta religious rites.—These are again divided into two classes, *viz.*, *Haviryajna*, performed with offerings of rice, milk, butter, meat, &c.; and the *Somayajna*, performed with libations of the soma juice. There were seven rites of each class, and they have been described before in Book II, Chapter VIII, of the present work. We will again name them here.

The Haviryajnas are—(1) Agnyâdhâna, (2) Agnihotra, (3) Darsapûrnamâsa, (4) Âgrayana, (5) Châturmâsya, (6) Nirûdhapasubandha, and (7) Santrâmanî.

The Somayajnas are (1) Agnishtoma, (2) Atyagnishtoma, (3) Ukthya, (4) Shodasin, (5) Vâjapeya, (6) Atirâtra, and (7) Âptoryâma.

Such were the forty sacraments prescribed for householders;—but far above the performance of these sacrifices was esteemed the possession of virtue and goodness which alone led to heaven. A living nation could never forget that,—however much sacrifice might

be esteemed and rules for their performance might be multiplied,—it was virtue which held society together and smoothed the path of progress. So long as society was progressive, it commended virtue more than the rites it enjoined, and punished vice more than the breach of caste-rules or the omission of rites. Compassion, Forbearance, Freedom from anger, Purity, Gentleness, the Performance of good actions, Freedom from avarice and Freedom from covetousness, are esteemed as the eight good qualities, and Gautama says :—

"He who is sanctified by these forty sacraments, but whose soul is destitute of the eight good qualities, will not be united with Brahman, nor does he reach His Heaven.

"But he, forsooth, who is sanctified by a few only of these forty sacraments and whose soul is endowed with the excellent qualities, will be united with Brahman and will dwell in His Heaven." (VIII, 24 and 25.)

Further on Gautama concludes his account of the duties of a householder with these pregnant rules :—

"68. He shall always speak the truth.

"69. He shall conduct himself as becomes an Aryan.

"70. He shall instruct virtuous men.

"71. He shall follow the rules of purification.

"72. He shall take pleasure in the Veda.

"73. He shall never hurt any being, he shall be gentle yet firm, ever restrain his senses and be liberal.

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"74. A *snâtaka* who conducts himself in this manner will liberate his parents, his ancestors, and descendants from evil, and never fall from Brahman's heaven." (IX.)

Similarly Vasishtha says:—

"3. The Vedas do not purify him who is deficient in good conduct, though he may have learnt them all together with the six Angas; the sacred texts depart from such a man even as birds when full fledged leave their nests.

"4. As the beauty of a wife causes no joy to a blind man, even so all the four Vedas together with the six Angas and sacrifices bring no blessing to him who is deficient in good conduct.

"5. The several texts do not save from sin the deceitful man who behaves deceitfully. But that Veda, two syllables of which are studied with due observances of rules of conduct, purifies, just as the clouds in the month of Âsvina." (VI.)

It was but one short step from this to Buddhism which eschewed all sacred texts and sacred rites, and was essentially *a religion of holy life*, which could create for man a heaven in this earth.

Gautama's list of the sins which led to loss of caste confirms the same impression that so long as Hinduism was the religion of a living nation, immorality was despised and punished more than breach of artificial rules. Murder, drinking spirituous liquor,

violation of a guru's bed, incest, theft, atheism, a persistent repetition of sinful acts, harbouring criminals and abandoning blameless friends, instigating others to such sinful acts, and associating with outcasts, giving false evidence, bringing false charges, and similar acts, involved loss of caste. (XXI, 1 to 10.) Vasishtha's list of *Mahâpâtakas* is shorter, but equally points to the abhorrence for sin and immorality rather than the breach of artificial rules. The violation of a guru's bed, the drinking of spirituous liquor, murder and theft, and spiritual or matrimonial connexion with outcastes, were the five greatest of sins. (I, 19 to 21.)

It is permissible for a historian to turn from ancient customs to modern facts! Ancient Hinduism, which was a living religion, laid down rules for the conduct of Aryans, but detested crime and immorality far more than the breach of artificial rules. Long subjection and political lifelessness have made modern Hindus lose sight of the spirit of the ancient faith, and cling to dead forms, or fabricate new-fangled and hurtful rules. Immorality, the use of spirituous liquor, and even crime, do not involve loss of caste in modern society; that penalty is reserved for the re-marriage of widows which was permitted in ancient days, for intermarriage and social intercourse among people descended from the same old Vaisya stock, for voyage and foreign travel which were permitted to Northern Hindus. Caste was a valuable institution when it repressed

crime and ordained a pure life. Modern caste represses harmless or even meritorious acts, and has become valuable in its loss more than in its preservation!

The taking of food cooked by men of inferior castes, which is a principal reason of loss of caste in modern times, does not seem to have entailed the same consequences in the Rationalistic Period. On the contrary, there are directions for keeping Sûdra cooks, provided the cooks had cleanly habits *Âpastamba*, II, 2, 3, 4 to 9), and the food thus prepared was considered fit even for religious rites. Thus the ancients allowed between Aryans and Sûdras a degree of social intercourse which the moderns will not permit among different professions descended from the same Vaisya stock.

Elaborate rules have been laid down in the Sûtras on the subject of food, and animals and birds which may be used as food have been carefully distinguished from those which should not be so used. Beef was still used as an article of food, but was gradually falling into disuse on account of the growing disinclination to kill animals except at sacrifices. On this point Dr. Bühler has drawn attention to a remarkable passage from Manu's Dharma Sûtra, which has been quoted by Vasishtha. Manu's Dharma Sûtra exists no longer, having been replaced by the later metrical code of Manu, which is no doubt based on the old Dharma Sûtra. The extract is therefore of the utmost interest to all Sanscrit scholars.

"5. The Mânava (Sûtra states), 'only when he worships the manes and the gods, or honours guests, he may certainly do injury to animals.'

"6. 'On offering a madhuparka (to a guest) at a sacrifice, and at the rites in honor of the manes, but on these occasions only may an animal be slain, that rule Manu proclaimed.'

"7. 'Meat can never be obtained without injuring living beings, and to injure living beings does not procure heavenly bliss; therefore the (sages declare) the slaughter at a sacrifice not to be slaughter.'

"8. 'Now he may cook a full-grown ox or a full-grown he-goat for a Brâhman or Kshatriya guest; in this manner they offer hospitality to such a man.'" *Vasishtha, IV.*

With regard to the above four Sûtras 5 to 8 from Vasishtha, Book IV, Dr. Bühler makes the following remarks, which are worth quoting: "The fact that Vasishtha gives in IV, 5, a prose quotation from Manu, may therefore be considered as certain. Moreover, several of the best manuscripts shew by adding the particle 'iti' at the end of Sûtra 8, that the quotation from the Mânava is not finished with Sûtra 5, but includes the two verses given in Sûtras 6 and 7, and the second prose passage in Sûtra 8. Among the verses the first is found entire in the metrical Manu Smriti, and the second has likewise a representative in that work, *though its concluding portion has been altered in such a*

manner that the permission to slaughter animals of sacrifices has been converted into an absolute prohibition to take animal life. Sûtra 8 which again is in prose has no counter-part in the metrical 'Manu Smriti' as might be expected *from its allowing 'full-grown ox' or 'a full-grown he-goat' to be killed in honor of a distinguished Brâhmana or Kshatriya guest."* The Italics are our own, and they shew, if Dr. Bühler's supposition be correct, how the ancient and now lost Mânava Sûtra has been changed into the modern metrical Mânava Sastra to suit the changes in the customs and manners of the Hindu nation.

Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra has in his paper on Beef in Ancient India pointed out that in several religious rites the slaughter of animals formed a necessary part. One is called the *Sûlagava* or "spitted cow," *i.e.* Roast Beef, and it was performed in the autumn or spring season. Another was called *Gavâmanayana* or the sacrifice of the cow, otherwise called, *ekâshtakâ*. Kâtyâyana recommends the sacrifice of a barren cow to the Maruts and seventeen oxen to Prajâpati in connection with the *Atirâtra* rite. Similarly the *Nirûdha Pasubandha* rite required the sacrifice of oxen. The *Madhuparka* or honey-meat of which mention is made before, and was offered to a respectable guest,—a priest, king, bridegroom or Vedic student, a teacher, a father-in-law, an uncle or a man of rank,—had to be accompanied with the sacrifice of a cow in honor of the guest. Dr.

Mitra rightly thinks that the use of beef went out when sacrifices themselves fell into disuse, and was finally abandoned in consequence to the Buddhist appeal to humanity.

But though beef as well as the meat of various other animals was allowed in the Rationalistic Period, the use of spirituous liquor was most strictly prohibited, and was, as we have seen, a Mahâpâtaka both according to Gautama and Vasishtha. The penance was death,—hot liquor of the same kind being poured into the sinner's mouth till he was scalded to death (*Gautama*, XXIII, 1 ; *Baudhâyana*, II, 1, 1, 18). But as we have said before, these laws indicate the state of society which was aimed at by priests, and not the state which was ever actually secured. But nevertheless it is something to know the good results which were aimed at by ancient rules and restrictions. For they have now been replaced by new rules and restrictions which aim at no good results, and reveal neither sense nor reason to the most solicitous inquirer !

CHAPTER VIII.

DOMESTIC CEREMONIES AND GRIHYA RITES.

WE have seen that the forty sacraments prescribed by Gautama included domestic ceremonies, Grihya rites, and Srauta rites. The Srauta rites are described in detail in the Yajur Veda and the Brâhmanas, and also in a condensed form in the Srauta Sûtras, as we have stated before. These rites and sacrifices throw little light on the manners and customs of the people, and are therefore not of very great importance for our historical purpose. The domestic ceremonies and Grihya rites on the other hand give us glimpses which are of inestimable value into the manners of the ancient Hindus, and indeed give us perfect pictures of the life that they lived and the habits and customs they followed. These ceremonies and rites form the subject of the Grihya Sutras, and to them we must now turn.

We will first treat of the domestic ceremonies, the *Samskâras*, as they are called, and afterwards speak of the Grihya religious rites. The most important of the Samskâras are Marriage, Ceremonies during pregnancy of wife, Birth of child, Annaprâsana or the first feeding of a child, Tonsure, Cutting of beard, Initiation, Return from school, and the Building of a house, Funeral

ceremonies and Srâddhas. As we read accounts of these domestic ceremonies, we think we survey the whole life of our ancient ancestors ;—and the ceremonies are all the more interesting to us, because we continue to practise many of them to the present day, after a lapse of over two thousand years.

Marriage.—The bridegroom sends messengers to the house of the girl's father, reciting verse X, 85, 23, of the Rig Veda, which we have translated before. If the proposal pleases both parties, the promise of marriage is ratified, and both parties touch a full vessel into which flowers, fried grain, barley and gold have been put, and recite a formula. The bridegroom then performs a sacrifice. On the appointed day, the bride's relations wash her with water fragrant with the choicest fruits and scents, make her put on a newly dyed garment, and cause her to sit down by a fire while the family Âchârya performs a sacrifice. The bridegroom who has also bathed and gone through auspicious ceremonies "is escorted by happy young women who are not widows to the girl's house." *Sânkhâyâna.*

The actual marriage ceremony varied in detail in different localities, but agreed in the essential points. "Various indeed are the customs of the different countries, and the customs of the different villages. * * What however is commonly accepted, that we shall state." *Âsvalâyana.* The bridegroom holds the bride by the hand, and leads her three times round

a fire, reciting some verses as "Come, let us marry. Let us beget offspring. Loving, bright, with genial mind, may we live a hundred autumns." Each time he makes her tread a millstone, saying "Like a stone be firm." The bride's brother or guardian fills her hands with Âjya or fried grain, and she sacrifices it to the fire. The bridegroom then causes the bride to step forward seven steps, reciting some suitable words, as "For sap with one step, for juice with two steps, for thriving of wealth with three steps, for comfort with four steps, for offspring with five steps, for the seasons with six steps, be friend with seven steps. So be thou devoted to me. Let us acquire many sons who may reach old age." The going round the fire, treading the stone, sacrificing the fried grain and stepping forward seven steps, constituted the principal forms of the marriage ceremony. "And she should dwell that night in the house of an old Brâhman woman whose husband is alive, and whose children are alive. When she sees the polar star, the star of Arundhatî, and the Seven Rishis (ursa major) let her break the silence, and say May my husband live, and I get offspring." *Âsvalâyana.* Sânkhâyana says "Let them sit silent, when the sun has set, until the polar star appears. He shews her the polar star with the words,—'Firm be thou, thriving with me.' Let her say 'I see the polar star; may I obtain offspring.' Through a period of three nights let them refrain from conjugal intercourse." *The last*

injunction leads to the supposition that girls were generally married after they had obtained maturity, in spite of the rules to the contrary which were coming into fashion. Pâraskara says the prohibition against conjugal intercourse may extend to three nights, or to twelve nights, or to six months, or to a year.

Gobhila lays down a rule about the selection of a wife, which will sound strange in these modern days of courtship and free choice! Eight lumps of earth were to be taken from different places, from an altar, a ploughed field, a lake, a pasture field, a meeting of roads, &c., and a ninth was to be formed by mixing portions of the other eight. These nine were to be placed before the girl,—and she was to be considered a suitable bride or otherwise according to her blind choice!

Pregnancy.—Various were the rites performed during the pregnancy of a wife. In the first place there was the *Grabhalambhana* rite, which was supposed to secure conception. The *Punsavana* rite was supposed to determine the male sex of the child, and the *Anavalobhana* or *Garbharakshana* secured the child in the womb from dangers. The *Sîmantonnayana*, performed according to Âsvalâyana in the fourth month, and according to Sânkhâyana in the seventh month of pregnancy, is a more interesting ceremony. Gobhila says it may be performed in the fourth, sixth, or eighth month, and it consisted in the husband affectionately parting his wife's hair with certain rites.

Birth of child.—The rites performed on this occasion are called *Jâtakarman*, or birth ceremony, *Medhâjananam*, or the production of intelligence, and *Âyushya* or rite for prolonging life. On this occasion the father gives the child a secret name,—of an even number of syllables if the child is male, and an uneven number if it is female, and only the father and mother know that name. On the tenth day when the mother gets up from childbed a name for common use is given to the child. "The name of a Brâhman should end in Sarman (*e. g.*, Vishnu Sarman), that of a Kshatriya in Varman, (*e. g.*, Lakshmî Varman), *that of a Vaisya in Gupta* (*e. g.*, *Chandra Gupta*)." *Pâraskara*, I, 17, 4.

First feeding of the child with solid food.—This is the well-known *Annaprâsana* ceremony, which is observed to the present day. Only the child seems to have been allowed a greater variety of food in the olden days. "Goat's flesh, if he is desirous of nourishment, flesh of partridge if desirous of holy lustre, boiled rice with ghee, if desirous of splendour," Âsvalâyana and Sânkhâyana. "Flesh of the bird called Bhâradvâjî if he wishes fluency of speech; Fish, if swiftness was desired, &c., &c. Pâraskara.

Tonsure of the child's head, called *Kaula* or *Chûdâ Karana*. This was performed when the child was one year old according to Sânkhâyana and Pâraskara, or when the child was in his third year according to Âsvalâyana and Gobhila. The child's head was shaved

with a razor with certain mantras, (without mantras in the case of a girl,) and some hair was left and arranged according to the custom of the family.

Cutting of the beard.—The ceremony called *Godâna Karman*, or *Kesânta*, was similar to the tonsure of the head, but was of course performed at a later period. Âsvalâyana says it was performed in the sixteenth year of the boy, Sânkhâyana says in the sixteenth or eighteenth year, and Gobhila says in the sixteenth year after initiation.

Initiation or *Upanayana.*—This was an important ceremony, and was performed when a boy was made over by his father or guardian to the teacher for education. The age of initiation, as we have seen before, varied in the case of Brâhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, and the sacred thread was worn on this occasion by all the three castes.

A garment, a girdle, and a staff of appropriate materials were then assumed by the student, and he approached the teacher.

"He (the teacher) fills the two hollows of his own and the student's joined hands with water, and then says to him (*i. e.*, to the student): 'what is thy name'?

" 'I am N. N., sir,' says the other.

" 'Descending from the same Rishis,' says the teacher.

" 'Descending from the same Rishis, sir,' says the other.

" 'Declare that thou art a student, sir.'

" 'I am a student, sir,' says the other.

"With the words 'Bhûr Bhuvah Svah' the teacher sprinkles thrice with his joined hands water on the joined hands of the student.

"And seizing the student's hands with his own hands, holding the right uppermost, he murmurs :—

"By the impulse of the god Savitri, with the arms of the two Asvins, with Pûshan's hands, I initiate thee, N. N.

* * * * *

"After one year the teacher recites the Sâvitrî (Rig Veda, III, 62),

"or after three nights,

"or immediately.

"Let him recite a Gâyatrî to a Brâhman,

"a Trishtubh to a Kshatriya,

"a Jagatî to a Vaisya.

"But let it anyhow be a verse sacred to Savitri.

"They seat themselves to the north of the fire,

"the teacher with his face turned eastward, the other westward.

"After the student has said 'Recite, sir,'

"the teacher having pronounced the word OM, then causes the other one to say 'Recite the Sâvitrî, sir.'

"He then recites the Sâvitrî to him, the verse, 'That glorious splendour of Savitri' (*Rig Veda, III,*

62, 10), firstly pada by pada, then hemistich by hemistich, and finally without a stop." *Sânkhâyana*, II, 2 and 5.

Such was the ceremony of the *Upanayana* in ancient times, the initiation into the life of a student, the commencement of the study of the Veda. How has the *Upanayana* custom degenerated in modern times. It no longer means the study of the Veda which is now forgotten, nor the performance of sacrifices which have now fallen into disuse. It now means the habitual assumption of a meaningless thread which was neither meaningless nor habitually worn in ancient days; and modern Brâhmans, who do not sacrifice or read the Veda, claim a monopoly of the sacrificial thread which the ancient Brâhmans used to wear along with Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, who all sacrificed and learnt the Veda. Thus national degeneracy has converted significant rites into meaningless forms, all tending to the enforced ignorance of the people, and to the exclusive privileges of priests.

The building of the house.—The student, after he had finished his education, returned to his home, and if he had no ancestral house to go to, had to build a house. This, too, was accompanied by a ceremony and by the utterance of the hymns of the Rig Veda (VII, 54, 55,) to Vâstospati, the lord of dwelling-houses, as well as to other divinities. Gobhila, with a curious punctiliousness, lays down that Brâhmans should

build their houses on white-grained soil (sand?), Kshatriyas on red-grained soil (gravel?), and Vaisyas on black-grained soil (fertile cultivable clay?). Of course these rules only shew the rage for generalizing, and were never meant to be followed. Many sensible rules are however laid down for the selection of desirable places on sanitary grounds. Then followed the setting up of fires,—the Agnyâdhâna—which is a Srauta rite, and which has been described in Chapter VIII of the last Book. The building of a house and the setting up of fires were unnecessary if the father of the young house-holder and husband was still living. *Gobhila*, I, 1, 12.

Funeral ceremony.—Many eminent scholars have treated of the funeral rites of the Hindus according to the Grihya Sûtras, and we will only note a few important points. The relations of the deceased carried his sacred fires and sacrificial vessels, and aged men and women carried the dead body. The Âhavanîya fire, the Gârhapatya fire, and the Dakshina fire were placed to the south-east, to the north-west, and to the south-west of the ground selected for cremation, and the widow was placed near the body of her dead husband until her brother-in-law, or a pupil, or an aged servant caused her to rise and go away with verse X, 18, 8, of the Rig Veda. A she-animal was sacrificed, and was placed limb by limb on the corresponding limbs of the deceased, and then the three fires mentioned above were

lighted together. The relations then left the corpse and had their ablutions. Afterwards the bones were collected in an urn, and were buried in a pit "at a place where the waters from the different sides do not flow together." *Âsvalâyana.*

Funeral oblations.—The last of the important domestic rites is the Srâddha; it is considered as one of the Pâkayajnas, but an account of it comes in more suitably among the domestic ceremonies, and we will glean one or two passages here from Âsvalâyana. "Brâhmans who are endowed with learning, moral character and correct conduct," were invited, and sat down "as representatives of the fathers" to whom the oblations were offered. The sacrificer then offered the Arghya water of the fathers with the words, "Father, this is thy Arghya; Grandfather, this is thy Arghya Great-grandfather, this is thy Arghya." Gifts of perfumes, garlands, incense, lights and clothes were then offered to the Brâhmans. With the permission of the Brâhmans food of the *Sthâlîpâka* prepared for the *Pindapitriyajna* was smeared with ghee and sacrificed in the fire, or in the hands of the Brâhmans, together with other food. And when the sacrificer saw that the Brâhmans were satiated, he recited the verse (Rig Veda, I, 82, 2), "They have eaten, they have enjoyed themselves."

Our account of domestic ceremonies, though condensed as far as possible, has occupied a considerable

space ; but no Hindu reader will regret it, as many of the ceremonies are still observed by us, and it is interesting and instructive to learn how they were observed by our forefathers. The same reason emboldens us to add here an account of the Pâkayajnas or Grihya rites, many of which we still observe to the present day, though they have lost their original purpose and character and even their name.

Parvan.—This was the rite observed on the new and full moon days, and consisted in fasting as well as in offering cooked oblations to the deities of the festivals of those days, with appropriate mantras. Orthodox Hindus still make it a point to fast on these days.

Srâvanî.—This was a rite observed on the full moon day of the month of Srâvana in the rainy season, and the idea was to propitiate serpents which multiply in India in the rains. The words uttered were sufficiently grotesque.

"6. With the words 'May the Lord of the celestial serpents wash himself! May the celestial serpents wash themselves!'—he pours water into it.

"7. With the words 'May the Lord of the celestial serpents comb himself! May the celestial serpents comb themselves!'—he makes movements with a comb.

"8. With the words 'May the Lord of the celestial serpents paint himself! May the celestial serpents paint themselves!'—he pours out portions of paint."

And similarly a desire was expressed that the celestial serpents might deck themselves with flowers, put on clothing, anoint their eyelashes, look at themselves in a looking glass, and then accept food, and appropriate offerings were made with each wish! The aëreal serpents were then propitiated,—and lastly terrestrial serpents. *Śâṅkhâyana*, IV, 15.

The worship of serpents as such has nearly disappeared from the upper classes of the people of India, and they will have some difficulty in recognizing the rite performed at the *Râkhî Pûrnimâ* as the last trace of the *Srâvaṇî* rite of the Rationalistic Period. The *Rakhî* string bracelet which friends distribute to friends, and sisters affectionately send to their brothers, is a bracelet which is intended to save from harm and evil proceeding from serpents.*

Asvayugî.—This was a rite performed on the full moon day of Âsvayuga or Âsvina month.

"1. On the full moon day of Âsvayuga a milk-rice oblation to Indra.

"2. Having sacrificed Âjya with the words 'To the two Asvins, svâhâ! To the two Âsvayuj, svâhâ! To the full moon of Âsvayuga, svâhâ! To the autumn, svâhâ! To Prajâpati, svâhâ! To the tawny one, svâhâ!'

* A new and aboriginal goddess, the *Manasâ*, is now worshipped in Bengal to save men from snake-bite, and the story of her admission into the Hindu pantheon is dimly seen in the popular tale of *Manasâr Bhâsân*.

"3. He shall sacrifice a mixture of curds and butter with this hymn, 'The cows come hither,' (Rig Veda, VI, 28,) verse by verse.

"4. That night they let the calves join their mothers.

"5. Then feeding of the Brâhmans."

This is all the account which Sânkhâyana gives of this rite, and it is impossible not to suspect from the above account that the rite is essentially agricultural. This suspicion is confirmed when Pâraskara tells us that the above rite was to be followed by a sacrifice to Sîtâ, *the goddess of the field furrow.*

"In whose substance dwells the prosperity of all Vedic and worldly works, *Indra's wife, Sîtâ*, I invoke. May she not abandon me in whatever work I do. Svâhâ!

"Her, who, rich in horses, rich in cows, rich in delight, indefatigably supports living beings, *Urvarâ (the fertile), who is wreathed with threshing floors*, I invoke at this sacrifice, the firm one. May she not abandon me. Svâhâ!" (II, 17, 9.)

The worship of Sîtâ or the furrow goddess, following the Âsvajugî rite, her description as the wife of Indra, the rain giver, and as Urvarâ or the fertile, wreathed with threshing floors, all suggest that the Âsvajugî rite was an agricultural rite of thanksgiving on the reaping of the crop which was harvested in Âsvina. And if this rite of agricultural thanksgiving was

already somewhat obscure in the Rationalistic Period, how has that rite been further obscured in the *Kojâgara Lakshmî Pûjâ* of modern India!

Lakshmî is a young goddess who was unknown in the Rationalistic Period, but is now the most cherished deity in the Hindu Pantheon. Sîtâ is remembered only as the heroine of the Râmâyana and as a pattern of female virtue and female self-abnegation; but Lakshmî has taken her place as the goddess of crops and of rice. Is it a wonder then the worship of Sîtâ has been replaced by that of Lakshmî on the full moon night of the autumnal harvest?

And if Lakshmî is a modern name of Sîtâ as the goddess of grain, is it an improbable conjecture which we have elsewhere made (Book II, Chapter III,) that Râma himself is another name of Indra, the Vedic husband of Sîtâ?

We have seen that the Kojâgara Lakshmî Pûjâ is the modern form of the ancient Âsvajugî rite. Still more recent than the Lakshmî Pûjâ is the worship of Durgâ, which has in Bengal assumed wonderful dimensions within recent times, owing no doubt to the gladness of the harvest season, and has thrown the Lakshmî Pûjâ into shade. How has the petty harvest festival,—the milk-rice oblation to Indra and his consort Sîtâ,—developed in modern times!

Âgrahâyanî.—This rite was performed on the full moon day of Agrahâyana month. This particular

night was considered to be the consort of the year, or the image of the year, and adoration was offered to the year, to Samvatsara, Parivatsara, Idâvatsara, Idvatsara and to Vatsara, which terms designate the different years of the quinquennial period of Yuga. *Pâraskara*, III, 2, 2.

Ashtakâ.—So called because they were rites which were performed on the *eighth* day of the three or four successive dark fortnights after the full moon of Agrahâyana. Sânkhâyana and Pâraskara prescribe three Ashtakâs, Âsvalâyana prescribes four. Gobhila quotes older authorities and says that Kautsa prescribed four, while Audgâhamâni, Gautama and Vârkakhandî prescribed three. The majority of opinions is therefore in favor of three Ashtakâs, followed by three Anvashtakâs, and the three Ashtakâs were performed on the eighth days of the dark fortnights in Agrahâyana, Pausha and Mâgha respectively. According to Sânkhâyana oblations were made with vegetables, flesh and cakes respectively according to the order of the three Ashtakâs, but Pâraskara and Gobhila prescribe the oblation in a different order, beginning with cakes and ending with vegetables.

Gobhila quotes different opinions as to the object of these interesting rites, and says they may be for the gratification of Agni, or of the Fathers, or of Prajâpati, or of the Season Gods, or of all the Gods (*Gobhila*, III, 2, 3). The intelligent reader will

hardly fail to perceive, however, that the rites were suggested by the winter season, which is an enjoyable season in India, when the Amon rice is harvested and wheat and barley thrive, and when cakes and flesh and vegetables are not only acceptable to the "season gods" but are also highly gratifying to men! And the Hindu reader will, no doubt, at once perceive that a relic of this ancient rite still exists in Bengal in the *Pausha Pârvana*, when after the Amon has been harvested, our ladies delight in the preparation of delicious cakes of various kinds to the infinite joy of the young and old alike!

Modern Hindus will, however, scarcely wish to be reminded that whereas our present *Pausha Pârvana* is performed with vegetables and cakes, our ancestors relished the flesh of cow in the middle or *Pausha Ashtakâ* (*Sânkhâyana*, III, 14, 3; *Gobhila*, III, 9, 14, &c.) For the rest, the Ashtakâs came naturally to be regarded as goddesses, who had with motherly tenderness produced the good things of earth for the benefit of men.

"She in whom Yama, the son of Vivasvat and all gods are contained, the Ashtakâ, whose face is turned to all sides, she has satiated my desires." *Sânkhâyana*, III, 12, 5.

"Thirty sisters* go to the appointed place, putting

* Apparently the days of the month.

on the same badge. They spread out the seasons, the knowing sages ; having the metres in their midst, they walk around, the brilliant ones. Svâhâ!

"The shining one clothes herself with clouds, with the ways of the sun, the divine night: manifold animals which are born look about in this mother's lap. Svâhâ!" *Pâraskara*, III, 3, 5.

Chaitrî, the last rite in the year, was performed on the full moon day of Chaitra. According to Sânkhâyana, "*a figure with prominent navel to Indra and Agni*," had to be made, and balls were offered to Rudra, and the Nakshatras or constellations were propitiated.

Such were the domestic ceremonies and Grihya rites in which Hindu ladies delighted in ancient times. And if some of these rites have since lost their original significance, and have even been replaced by modern and more degenerate forms, we can nevertheless trace most of them in the rites that we practise to this day, after a lapse of two thousand years and more. The conservative spirit of the Hindus and their loyalty to the past are pre-eminently conspicuous in their adherence to ancient ceremonies, which were generally conceived in a pure and healthy spirit. And the healthy joyousness which attended ancient Hindu celebrations has certainly lost nothing in the course of many centuries of foreign subjection and national decline.

CHAPTER IX.

GEOMETRY, GRAMMAR, AND THE PROGRESS OF LEARNING.

WE have stated before that it was in the Rationalistic Age that all the learning and religious rites and laws of the previous ages received a philosophical treatment, and were condensed, arranged and codified. It was in this period that the contents of the verbose and somewhat chaotic Brâhmanas were brought into order, that civil and criminal laws and the law of inheritance were codified, that the caste system and social laws were rigidly fixed, and the duties of men, both as citizens and as members of a family, defined. And it can well be imagined, therefore, that science and philosophy received a high degree of development in this age, and some departments of inquiry and thought received their last development in India in this period. If we were to seek a parallel to the epochs of Indian History in the annals of Greece, we would compare the Epic Age of India with the Homeric Age of Greece, and we would identify the Rationalistic Period of India with the age of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. The Vedic Age in India has no parallel in Greek history

for all accounts of the first settlement of the Aryans in Greece are lost.

We do not know what progress was made in this period in Astronomy. No Sûtra work on Astronomy has come down to us, and there can be little doubt that the astronomical works of the Rationalistic Period have long since been replaced by the later and completer works of the Paurânik Period,—by the wonderful discoveries of Âryabhatta and Varâha Mihira, of Brahmagupta and Bhâskarâchârya. But there is one branch of mathematics which was carried to a high degree of excellence in the Rationalistic Period. Dr. Thibaut has deserved the thanks of all oriental scholars by publishing the fact that Geometry, as a science, was first discovered in India. The Greeks of a later age cultivated the science with greater success, but it should never be forgotten that the world owes its first lessons in Geometry not to Greece, but to India.

Geometry like Astronomy owes its origin in India to religion, and Grammar and Philosophy too were similarly inspired by religion. As Dr. Thibaut remarks :—"The want of some rule by which to fix the right time for the sacrifices gave the first impulse to astronomical observations ; urged by this want the priest remained watching night after night the advance of the moon through the circle of the nakshatras, and day after day the alternate progress of the sun towards the north and the south. The laws of phonetics were in-

vestigated because the wrath of the gods followed the wrong pronunciation of a single letter of the sacrificial formulas; grammar and etymology had the task of securing the right understanding of the holy texts. The close connexion of philosophy and theology,—so close that it is often impossible to decide where the one ends and the other begins,—is too well known to require any comment." And the learned Doctor then lays down the principle, which should never be overlooked by Indian Historians, that whatever science "is closely connected with the Ancient Indian Religion must be considered as having sprung up among the Indians themselves," and not borrowed from other nations.*

Geometry was developed in India from the rules for the construction of altars. The Taittirîya Sanhitâ (V, 4, 11) enumerates the different shapes in which altars could be constructed, and Baudhâyana and Âpastamba furnish us with full particulars about the shape of these *chitis* and the bricks which had to be employed for their construction. (1) The Chaturasrasyena is a falcon-shaped altar built of square bricks, and is the most ancient. (2) The Syena Vakrapakshavyastapuchchha is an altar of the shape of a falcon with curved wings and outspread tail. (3) The Kankachit is a heron-shaped altar with two feet, and (4) the Alajachit is very

* Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1875, p. 227.

similar to it. (5) The Praugachit is of the shape of the fore part of the poles of a chariot, an equilateral triangle, and (6) the Ubhayatah Praugachit is of the form of two such triangles joined with their bases. Then follow (7) the Ratha Chakrachit and (8) the Sâraratha Chakrachit of the shape of wheels, without and with spokes. (9) The Chaturasradronachit and (10) the Parimandaladronachit are of the shape of a drona or vessel, square or circular. (11) The Parichâyyachit is also of a wheel-shape, and (12) the Samûhyachit has likewise a circular shape. (13) The Smasânachit is a sloping quadrilateral altar wider at one base than at the other, and higher at the wider end. The last chiti mentioned is the Kurma or tortoise, which may be either (14) Vakrânga, curved, or (15) angular, or (16) Parimandala, circular.

The area of the earliest Chaturasra Syena was to be 7½ square purushas, which means 7½ squares, the side of each square being equal to a purusha, *i.e.*, the height of a man with uplifted arms. When any other shape of altar was required, *the size or area did not change*, so that a wheel, an equilateral triangle, or a tortoise had to be constructed,—all of the area of 7½ purushas. Then again at the second construction of the altar one square purusha had to be added to the area, and at the third construction two square purushas had to be added *without changing the shape or the relative proportions of the figure.* All this could not be done

without a considerable knowledge of Geometry, and the science of Geometry was thus invented. As Dr. Thibaut says "squares had to be found which would be equal to two or more given squares, or equal to the difference of two given squares; oblongs had to be turned into squares and squares into oblongs; triangles had to be constructed equal to given squares or oblongs; and so on. The last task, and not the least, was that of finding a circle, the area of which might equal as closely as possible that of a given square."

The result of these operations was the compilation of a series of Geometrical rules which are contained in the Sulva Sûtras, which form a portion of the Kalpa Sûtras as we have stated before. These Sulva Sûtras date from the eighth century before Christ. The Geometrical theorem that the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the squares of the other two sides of a rectangular triangle is ascribed by the Greeks to Pythagoras; but it was known in India at least two centuries before, and Pythagoras undoubtedly learnt this rule from India. The proposition referred to above is contained in two rules, *viz.*, (1) The square of the diagonal of a square is twice as large as that square; and (2) The square of the diagonal of an oblong is equal to the square of both its sides.

Our limits forbid us to follow Dr. Thibaut's remarks contained in his most valuable and instructive paper,

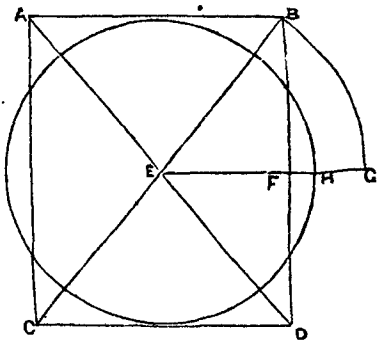
and all we can do is to briefly mention a few of the most important results achieved in the Sulva Sûtras. One remarkable result was to find the value of a diagonal in number in relation to the side of the square. The rule laid down is "Increase the measure by its third part, and this third by its own fourth, less the thirty-fourth part of that fourth." In other words, if 1 represents the side, the diagonal will be $1 + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3 \times 4} - \frac{1}{3 \times 4 \times 34} = 1 \cdot 4142156$. The real value of the diagonal is, we know, $\sqrt{2} = 1 \cdot 414213\ldots$, and we see therefore that the rule given in the Sulva Sûtras is correct up to five places of the decimal.

Rules were framed for the formation of squares of three, four, five or any times the area of a given square; for combining two squares of different sizes; for deducting one square from another; for turning an oblong into a square or a square into an oblong; for turning a square into a circle or a circle into a square. As an example we will quote the rule of describing a circle equal to a given square.

The rule is this: "If you wish to turn a square into a circle, draw half of the cord stretched in the diagonal from the centre towards the Prâchî line (*i. e.*, the line due east); describe the circle together with the third part of that piece of the cord which will lie outside the square."

The rule may be thus illustrated :—

E B is half of the cord of the square A B C D stretched in the diagonal C B. Keep the point E fixed and draw the cord towards the Prâchî or eastern line E F. A part of the cord, *i. e.*, F G, will lie outside the square.



Take a third part of it F H together with the part inside E F, and describe a circle with the radius E H.

It is needless to add that the result is only approximately correct.

Similarly; "If you wish to turn a circle into a square, divide the diameter into eight parts, and again one of these eight parts into twenty-nine parts; of these twenty-nine parts remove twenty-eight, and moreover the sixth part (of the one left part) less the eighth part (of the sixth part)."

The meaning of the rule is this :—

$\frac{7}{8} + \frac{1}{8 \times 29} - \frac{1}{8 \times 29 \times 6} + \frac{1}{8 \times 29 \times 6 \times 8}$ of the diameter of a circle is the side of a square, the area of which is equal to the area of the circle.

Geometry is a lost science in India; for as soon as it was found that Geometrical truths could be represented by algebra and arithmetic, Geometry gradually fell out of use. The brilliant results achieved in arithmetic and algebra in the Pauranik Period probably led to the neglect of Geometrical studies. And the practical necessity for Geometrical studies no longer existed in India, when Hindus began to worship images in the Pauranik Age, and the setting up of sacred fires in the worshipper's house was discontinued, and the construction of altars was forgotten.

While the Greeks soon left the Hindus far behind in Geometry, they could never rival their Asiatic brethren in the science of Numbers. The world owes the decimal notation to the Hindus, and Arithmetic as a practical science would have been impossible without the Decimal Notation. The Arabs first learnt that notation from the Hindus, and introduced it into Europe. The ancient Greeks and Romans were ignorant of it and consequently never made much progress in the numerical science.

There is however yet another science in which the Hindus were the first in the field, and achieved results in the Rationalistic Period which have never since been surpassed in the world. Professor Max Müller says that the Hindus and the Greeks are the only nations which have developed the science of Grammar; but the achievements of the Greeks in Grammar are poor indeed

compared with the marvellous work of Pânini,—the greatest Grammarian that the world has ever seen. We will not enter into the controversy on the age of Pânini. Max Müller calls him the contemporary or Kâtyâyana, and gives the fourth century before Christ as his probable date, while Goldstücker maintains that the Grammarian lived in the ninth or eleventh century before Christ. Our own opinion is that he lived long before Katyâyana, but after Yâska,—and that the eighth century before Christ is not an improbable date. He undoubtedly belongs to the Rationalistic Period, the period when every department of thought received a philosophical treatment and generalization. But being born in Candahar in the extreme west of India, he may not have been acquainted with, or may not have recognized the Brâhmanas and Upanishads, which, as we have seen before, were mostly produced among the nations of the Gangetic Valley, who were widely separated by their learning, their customs, and even their form of religion from the Punjab Hindus.

It would be foreign to our purpose to attempt even a brief review of Pânini's system of Grammar. The startling discovery has been made in Europe in the present century that the tens of thousands of words in a language can be resolved to a small number of roots. This discovery was made in India three thousand years ago, before the time of Pânini, and the great Grammarian resolves the Sanscrit language of his time to its simple

and rational origin! No Grammarian of any other nation had the faintest suspicion of this fact, and no other language furnishes such clear evidence on this point as the Sanscrit.

It was the knowledge of Sanscrit which has enabled European scholars in the present century to discover the Science of Language or Philology; and Bopp and Grimm and Humboldt, and a host of other learned scholars, have resolved the Aryan languages to the same roots to which Pânini resolved the Sanscrit language in the dawn of Aryan history, when Athens and Rome were unknown!

CHAPTER X.

THE AGNOSTIC SANKHYA AND THE THEISTIC YOGA PHILOSOPHY.

BUT the glory of the Rationalistic Period consists in the philosophy of Kapila and the religion of Buddha. Kapila and Buddha are the Voltaire and Rousseau of ancient India,—the man of intellect and the man of feeling. Only the philosophy of Kapila was more clear and closely reasoned and consistent than anything that Voltaire wrote, and the morality and human sympathy of Buddha were loftier, purer and more comprehensive than that of Rousseau.

Kapila and Buddha worked to some extent on the same lines. They both started with the great object of affording humanity a relief from the suffering and pain which is the lot of all living beings. They both rejected with evident scorn the remedies which the Vedic rites pretended to offer, and called those rites impure, because connected with the slaughter of living beings. They both declared knowledge and meditation to be the means of salvation (see Sânkhya Kârikâ 1 and 2). They both adopted the doctrine of transmigration from the Upanishads (Sânkhya Kârikâ 45), and declared that pious acts lead to higher states of life.

And lastly, they both aimed at Nirvâna (Sânkhya Kârikâ 67), and the creed of the philosopher as well as of the reformer is agnostic.

But here the parallel ends. Kapila, who probably lived a century or two before Buddha, started the system of philosophy, but meant it only as philosophy. He addressed himself to high thinkers, and to speculative scholars. His philosophy knows nothing of sympathy with mankind in general, he did not go to the masses, he founded no society or class. Buddha came after him, and was probably born in the very town sanctified by the memory of the great philosopher.* Certain it is that he was well versed in the philosophy of Kapila and obtained his principal tenets from that source. But he possessed, what his predecessor did not possess, a living, all-embracing sympathy, a feeling for the poor, a tear for the bereaved and the sufferer. This was the secret of Buddha's great success. For philosophy is barren if it is not true to its name, if it does not seek earnestly, and in a loving spirit, the good of fellow creatures, if it does not look with equal eye on the rich and the poor, on the Brâhman and the Sûdra. And the Sûdra and the poor came to Buddha one by one for his loving sympathy and meek beneficence. Good men admired his high-souled piety, just men

* Buddha was born in Kapila Vastu, which, according to the Pali Dâtha Vansa, was built by the sons of Ikshvâku by the permission of the sage Kapila.

yielded to his theory of the equality of men, and all the world admired his pure system of morality. The tide of the new religion rolled onwards, and swept away in its course the inequality of laws and the inequality of castes. Three centuries after his death, the Emperor of Pâtaliputra, who ruled over the whole of Northern India, accepted the poor man's religion, and proclaimed it as the religion of all India. And a living nation accepted the faith of the equality of men, such as the Hindus have never done again since they have ceased to be a living nation.

These matters, however, will be treated in future chapters, and we return therefore to the philosophy of Kapila,—"the first recorded system of philosophy" in the world, "the earliest attempt on record to give an answer from reason alone, to the mysterious questions which arise in every thoughtful mind about the origin of the world, the nature and relations of man and his future destiny." *

The original work composed by Kapila has been lost to us. The *Sânkhya Pravachana* or *Sânkhya Sûtra* is ascribed to Kapila himself, but has probably been compiled at a more recent age. An excellent edition of the work with commentaries and translation has been published by Dr. Ballantyne. The *Tattva Samâsa* is another authoritative work which is also incorrectly

* Davies's *Hindu Philosophy.*

ascribed to Kapila. The *Sânkhya Sâra* is composed by Vijnâna Bhikshu, the commentator of Sânkhya Pravachana, and was probably composed in the sixteenth century; it is edited by Dr. FitzEdward Hall. And lastly, the *Sânkhya Kârikâ* is an ancient and concise treatise on the subject in only 72 distichs, composed by Isvara Krishna, and commented on by Gaudapâda and Vâchaspati. This small but excellent treatise has been translated into Latin by Lassen, into German by Windischmann and Lorinser, into French by Pantier and St. Hilaire, and into English by Colebrooke and Wilson, and recently by Davies. This small treatise will be our guide, specially as we have Mr. Davies's valuable notes to help us. We have only to add that it is impossible to give our readers the barest skeleton of Sânkhya Philosophy in a few pages, and that all we can do here is to notice a few essential principles of the system.

To relieve mankind from the three kinds of pain, *viz.*, (1) bodily and mental, (2) natural and extrinsic, (3) divine or supernatural, is the object of Kapila's philosophy. Vedic rites are inefficacious, because they are impure, and are tainted with the slaughter of living beings; the complete and final emancipation of the soul is secured by knowledge alone.

Nature and Soul are eternal and self-existent. From nature (*Prakriti*) is produced the *intellect*, the ego or *consciousness*, the five *subtle elements*, the five *grosser elements*, the five *senses of perception*, the five *organs*

of *action*, and the *mind*. Soul (*Âtman* or *Purusha*) produces nothing, but is only linked with Nature, with the corporeal body, until its final emancipation. Kapila does not accept the orthodox opinion of the Upanishads that all souls are portions of the Universal Soul. He asserts that each soul is separate, and has a separate existence after its emancipation from the bonds of Nature.

It will be seen that according to Kapila everything except soul is derived from *Prakriti* or primordial matter and is therefore material. Not only the elements and the senses and the organs of action, but the mind, the ego or consciousness, and the intellect, are results of matter, of "mind stuff," as European philosophers call it. Kapila only differs from modern materialistic philosophers in asserting that there is a soul, independent of matter and eternal, though for a time linked with matter.

It is necessary to clearly understand the distinctions between the senses, the organs, the mind the consciousness, the intellect, the elements, and the soul, in order to grasp the mental philosophy of Kapila.

The five senses simply observe, *i. e.*, receive impressions; the five organs of action, the voice, hands, feet, &c., act according to their functions. (S. K. 28). The mind *(manas)* is not what is implied by the English word, but is only a sense organ (S. K. 27), it is the *sensorium commune*, it simply arranges the impressions and presents them to ego or consciousness. Ego

is self-consciousness (S. K. 24); it individualizes those impressions as "mine." And the intellect distinguishes and discriminates (S. K. 23), and forms them into ideas. It will thus be seen that the distinctions made between the senses, the *manas*, the consciousness and the intellect are real distinctions in the functions of the mind. In the language of European philosophy *manas* receives the sensations and makes them actual perceptions; consciousness individualizes them as "mine," and intellect turns these individualized perceptions into "concepts or judgments" in the language of Sir W. Hamilton.

Hindu commentators love to describe this mental operation in a poetic garb. "As the headmen of the village," says Vâchaspati, "collect the taxes from the villagers and pay them to the governor of the district; as the local governor pays the amount to the minister, and the minister receives it for the use of the king, so the *manas*, having received ideas from the external organs, transfers them to consciousness, and consciousness delivers them to the intellect, the general superintendent, who takes charge of them for the use of the sovereign, Soul." Such metaphorical descriptions should not disguise from us the strictly scientific nature of the distinctions made,—distinctions which are recognized by European philosophers as well as by Hindu thinkers. "Sensation proper," says Morell in his Elements of Psychology, "is not purely a passive state, but implies a certain amount of mental acti-

vity." A clock, for instance, may strike within our hearing, and yet we may be perfectly unconscious of the fact if we are absent-minded, *i.e.*, if our mind is not sufficiently active to catch the sensation; and this mental activity, which has no special name in European philosophy, is the *manas* of Kapila.

It shews no ordinary philosophic acumen in Kapila to have declared, at a time when the functions of the brain were still imperfectly understood, that the *manas*, the consciousness or *ahankâra*, and even the intellect or *buddhi*, were material in their origin. More than this, Kapila declares that the subtle elements and the gross elements proceed from consciousness. Kapila herein seems to anticipate the philosophy of Berkely and Hume and Mill, that objects are but permanent possibilities of sensations, and agrees with Kant that we have no knowledge of an external world except as by the action of our faculties it is represented to the soul, and take as granted the objective reality of our sense perceptions.

What again are the subtle principles of Kapila? He is not content with enumerating the five gross elements, ether, air, earth, fire and water, but adds the five subtler principles, sound, tangibleness, odour, visibility, and taste. What are we to understand by the statement that these subtle principles have an independent existence? "The doctrine of Kapila seems to be, that in hearing, the ear has a relation not only to the ether,

but to the subtler principle which underlies it, a dim apprehension of the truth that hearing depends not only on some channel of communication between the ear and the source of sound, but on some modification of the material element through which the sound is conducted."*

Kapila recognizes only three kinds of evidence, *viz.*, Perception, Inference and Testimony. (S. K. 4.) The Nyâya or Logical school recognizes four,—dividing Kapila's Perception into *Anumâna* or perception, and *Upamâna* or analogy. The Vedantic school adds a fifth, which is called *Arthâpatti*, an informal kind of information; as "Devadatta does not eat by day and yet is fat, it is presumed therefore that he eats by night."

Kapila will admit nothing which cannot be known by his three kinds of evidence. He rejects all inner ideas, and as neither Perception, nor Inference, nor reliable Testimony, presents to him the idea of an external Author of all things, the idea of a Supreme Deity is not admitted into his philosophy. This was the great want which made the Hindus as a body recoil from Kapila's system of philosophy, and other systems were started, as we will see further on, to meet the want. And this was the want also which probably finally sealed the fate of Buddhism in India, however excellent and righteous the religion may have been in other respects.

* Davies, p. 72.

Kapila however believes in causation ; *sat—kâryam—asat—akâranât*, what exists must have been caused, as there can be no existence without cause. (S. K. 9.) He also appeals to the observation of mankind that cause and effect imply each other, and ends by stating that an effect is identical with cause, or, as Sir William Hamilton puts it, "all that we at present come to know as an effect must have previously existed in its causes."

The three *gunas*, or constituent elements of nature, *sattva* (goodness), *rajas* (passion) and *tamas* (darkness), form an important part of all Hindu philosophy, and find a place in Kapila's (S. K. 11). The *gunas* are only a hypothesis which accounts for the manifest differences in the conditions of all formal existences.

Kapila argues the production of all formal existences from *Prakriti* or Nature on five different grounds (S. K. 15). Firstly, specific objects are finite in their nature and must have cause. Secondly, different things have common properties and must be different species of the same primary genus. Thirdly, all things are in a constant state of progression and shew an active energy of evolution which must have been derived from a primary source. Fourthly, the existing world is an effect, and there must be a primary cause. And fifthly, there is an undividedness, a real unity in the whole universe, which argues a common origin. It was this unity, this harmony in nature,

which led some of the Rishis of the Rig Veda to ascribe all created things to the One Unborn, and which led the sages of the Upanishads to postulate the existence of one Universal Soul. The agnostic Kapila noted the same uniformity and harmony, but his categories of evidence did not allow him to admit the idea of a Deity, and like the materialistic philsophers of the modern day, he referred all formal existences to primordial Matter.

All except Soul. And his reasons for the separate existence of soul also deserve mention. The first is the celebrated argument of design,—but Kapila uses it differently from modern theologians. Matter has been apparently collected and arranged with a design,—but this proves, according to Kapila, not a Designer, but the existence of soul for which the things must have been arranged (S. K. 17). As a bed, argues Gaudapada, which is an assemblage of bedding, props, cotton, coverlet and pillows, is for another's use, not its own, even so this world, which is an assemblage of the five elements, is for the use of the soul.

Secondly, Matter furnishes materials for pleasure and pain, hence sentient nature, which feels pleasure and pain, must be different from it. Thirdly, there must be a superintending force. Fourthly, there must be a nature that enjoys. And the fifth argument is Plato's argument quoted in Addison's Cato, that the yearning for a higher life points to the possibility of

gaining it. These are Kapila's arguments for the existence of soul independent of matter, but he will not believe in one soul, but asserts and gives reasons for believing that the souls of different beings are different, not one (S. K. 18). Here he goes counter to the Upanishads and to the Vedantic school.

The vital actions of living systems are ascribed to certain subtle forces, and are generally described in Hindu philosophy as the five vital "airs," having some resemblance to the "vapours" of which the medical men of Europe spoke only a few generations ago. It was these subtle forces which were supposed to cause respiration, excretion, digestion, the circulation of blood, and the sensibility of the skin.

We have already said that Kapila borrowed the idea of transmigration of souls from the creed of the Upanishads. And having borrowed this idea, he had to suit it to his own system of philosophy. The soul, according to Kapila, is so passive that the individuality of a man is scarcely stamped on it. The Intellect, the Consciousness, the *manas*, all belong to the material part of a man. Hence Kapila was constrained by his own rigid reasoning to assume that something more than the soul migrated, that a subtle body, consisting of the Intellect, the Consciousness, and the *manas* and the subtle principles, migrated with the soul (S. K. 39 and 40). And this idea of a subtle body, the *linga sarîra*, runs through the whole of Hindu philosophy,

and Manu says (XII, 16) that a subtle body envelopes the souls of the wicked that they may suffer the torments of hell. The religious systems of all nations furnish something analogous to this idea, and the notion of a *linga sarîra* is accepted by Hindus as the doctrine of the resurrection of the body is accepted by all Christian nations. This *linga sarîra* forms the personality of an individual and ascends to a higher region or descends to a lower with the soul, according to the virtues or vices committed in this life (S. K. 44). The different regions are (1) that of Pisâchas, (2) that of Râkshasas, (3) that of Yakshas, (4) that of Gandharvas, (5) that of Indra (sun), (6) that of Soma (moon), (7) that of the Prajâpatis, the abode of the Fathers and Rishis, and (8) that of Brahmâ, the highest heaven. Besides these eight superior orders of beings there are five inferior orders: (1) domestic quadrupeds, (2) wild quadrupeds, (3) birds, (4) reptiles, fishes and insects, and (5) vegetables and inorganic bodies. Man stands alone between the eight superior orders and the five inferior orders (S. K. 53). The quality of *sattva* prevails in the superior orders, of *rajas* in man, and of *tamas* in the lower orders (S. K. 54). A man, according to his actions, may descend or ascend to a lower or higher order, or be born again as man of some caste or other. When the soul is finally rid of the *linga sarîra*, it is finally emancipated.

"It is the knowledge which the soul acquires through its

union with nature that leads to its final emancipation. "As a dancer having exhibited herself on the stage ceases to dance, so does Nature (*Prakriti*) cease when she has made herself manifest to soul." (S. K. 59.)

Even after the soul has obtained complete knowledge, it resides for a time in the body, "as a potter's wheel continues to revolve from the force of the previous impulse." This is the *Nirvâna* of Buddha, a state of quietude, when perfect knowledge has been gained, when all passions have been restrained, all desires have been checked, and the enlightened soul awaits its final emancipation. That separation of soul and matter comes at last. Nature ceases to act, as her purpose has been accomplished, and the soul obtains an abstraction from matter, and both continue to exist eternally isolated from each other, and independent. (S. K. 68.)

Such is the barest outline of Sânkhya philosophy. The latest German philosophy, the system of Schopenhauer (1819) and Von Hartmann (1869), is "a reproduction of the philosophic system of Kapila in its materialistic part, presented in a more elaborate form, but on the same fundamental lines. In this respect the human intellect has gone over the same ground that it occupied more than two thousand years ago; but on a more important question it has taken a step in retreat. Kapila recognized fully the existence of a soul in man, forming indeed his proper nature,—the absolute ego of Fichte,—distinct from matter and immortal; but

our latest philosophy, both here and in Germany, can see in man only a highly developed physical organization. 'All external things,' says Kapila, 'were formed that the soul might know itself and be free.' 'The study of psychology is vain,' says Schopenhauer, 'for there is no Psyche.'"*

The great want of Kapila's philosophy as a creed for the people was its agnosticism,—and the Yoga system of philosophy sought to remove this want. It is ascribed to Patanjali, who, according to Dr. Goldstücker, lived in the second century before Christ. All that we know of the life and history of Patanjali is that his mother was called Gonikâ, as he himself tells us; and that he resided for a certain time in Kashmîra, a circumstance which may have led to his great grammatical commentary having been preserved by the kings of that country. Patanjali calls himself Gonardiya, or a native of Gonarda, a place in the eastern part of India.

We have seen before that Kâtyâyana attacked Pânini's grammar about the 4th century B. C., and Patanjali's greatest work was his Mahâbhâsya or Great Commentary, in which he defended Pânini, and left a monument of his profound erudition and unrivalled critical acumen. The Yoga system of philosophy is also ascribed to him, and it is quite reasonable to

* *Davies' Preface.*

suppose that the great defender of Pânini also sought to popularize Kapila among his countrymen by adding to his cold and agnostic philosophy the doctrine of faith in a Supreme Deity, as well as some mystic practices and meditation by which beatitude (it was believed) could be obtained.

Patanjali's work, the *Yogasûtra* or *Yogânusâsana*, has been edited and translated into English by Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, who also gives a brief abstract of its contents in his preface. As a system of philosophy the Yoga has no value whatever by the side of the Sânkhya, and our account of it will therefore be brief; and the learned translator of the Yoga Sûtra will be our guide in our brief account of the system.

The Yoga Sûtra comprises 194 aphorisms, divided into four chapters. The first chapter is called *Samâdhi Pâda*, and contains 51 aphorisms treating of the nature of meditation. The second chapter consists of 55 aphorisms, and is called *Sâdhana Pâda*, and treats of the practices and exercises required in meditation. The third chapter is called *Vibhûti Pâda*, and treats in 55 aphorisms of the occult powers which may be acquired. The fourth chapter is called *Kaivalya Pâda*, and treats in 33 aphorisms of the isolation and detachment of the soul from all worldly ties, which is the ultimate object of meditation.

In the first chapter *Yoga* is derived from *Yuj*, "to join" or "to meditate," and this meditation is possible

only by the suppression of the functions of the mind. By constant exercise and by dispassion the functions of the mind may be suppressed, and Yoga, conscious or unconscious, may be attained. The latter form of Yoga is higher than the former, and is devoid even of deliberation or joy, egoism or the exercise of reason.

Devotion to God hastens the attainment of this coveted state of mind. The conception of God or Isvara is that of a Soul untouched by affliction, works, deserts and desires. In Him "the seed of the Omniscient attains infinity," and He "is the instructor of even all early ones, for He is not limited by time" (*Yoga Sutra*, I, 25 & 26). The sacred syllable *om* indicates the Deity.

Disease, doubt, worldly-mindedness, &c., are obstacles to the attainment of Yoga, but these may be overcome by concentration of the mind, by benevolence, by indifference to happiness or misery, and even by the regulation of the breath. The chapter ends with a description of various kinds of Yoga.

The second chapter details the exercises necessary for the performance of the Yoga. Asceticism, the muttering of a mantra, and devotion to God, are the earliest exercises. These overcome all afflictions like ignorance, egoism, desire, and aversion or ardent desire to live. These are the motives to work, and works must bear their fruits in subsequent births. We will see hereafter that this is the Buddhist theory of *Karma*,

about which so much has been written. The object of Yoga is to devise means to abstain from works, and so preclude future births.

We have then the Sânkhya definition of the soul and the intellect; knowledge finally severs the connexion between the two, and thenceforward the soul is free, and an end is put to future births and suffering. Knowledge passes through seven stages before it is perfect, and eight means (which reminds one of the eight-fold path of the Buddhists) are prescribed, by which this perfect knowledge can be obtained. The first means is abstaining from evil actions, slaughter, falsehood, theft, incontinence and avarice, and the second consists of an obligation to perform certain acts,—purification, contentment, penance, study, and devotion to God. These two means are prescribed for all, householders and ascetics alike. Then come the duties special to Yogins. The third means is assuming special postures for meditation; the fourth is regulation of the breath; the fifth is the abstraction of the organs from their natural functions; and the sixth, seventh and eighth are steadfastness *(Dhâranâ)*, contemplation *(Dhyâna)*, and meditation *(Samâdhi)*, which three are the essential constituents of Yoga itself. When these three are united, *Samyama* follows, and results in the acquisition of occult powers.

The occult powers or *Siddhis* described in the third chapter are indeed wonderful! One may know the

past and the future, make himself invisible to men, observe the details of what is passing in distant regions or in the stars and planets, converse with spirits, travel in the air or through water, and acquire various superhuman powers! The noble philosophy of Kapila was trailed through dirt and mire as soon as it was blended with popular superstitions!

But these occult powers are not the final objects which a Yogin seeks. The ultimate isolation of the soul is the final object of the Yogin, and this is discussed in the fourth and last chapter. We come back now to the theory that all works, all sensations and impressions on the mind, bear their fruit in future births. A discussion ensues regarding the nature of sensations and perceptions, of the intellect and the soul,—and the distinctions are much the same as in Sânkhya philosophy. Having explained these distinctions, Patanjali concludes by saying that perfect knowledge sweeps away all residue of former works (IV, 28 to 30), and the moment at last arrives when the three qualities become defunct, and the soul abides solely in its own essence. This emancipation of the soul is the object of the Yoga (IV, 33); it is absolute and eternal, and the soul which has attained it remains free for evermore.

It will thus be seen that as a system of philosophy, Yoga is valueless;—all its fundamental maxims about the soul and intellect and sensations, about the

transmigration of souls, and their eternity and final emancipation by knowledge, are those of the Sânkhya Philosophy. In fact, Patanjali tried to blend the idea of a Supreme Deity with the philosophy of Kapila; but unfortunately he also mixed up with it much of the superstition and the mystic practices of the age! Or is it an untenable conjecture that the great Grammarian founded a pure theistic system of philosophy which has since been mixed up with much of popular superstitions and mystic rites, and the result is the *Yoga Sûtra* as we find it now. In still later times the philosophy of the Yoga system has been completely lost sight of, and the system has degenerated into cruel and indecent Tantrik rites, or into the impostures and superstitions of the so-called Yogins of the present day.

CHAPTER XI.

NYAYA OR LOGIC, AND VAISESIKA OR ATOMIC PHILOSOPHY.

GAUTAMA or Gotama is the Aristotle of India, and his system of Nyâya is the Hindu Logic. His date is unknown, and he is said to have married Ahalyâ. He lived no doubt in the Rationalistic Period, but probably a century or two after Kapila. The *Nyâya Sûtra*, which is ascribed to him, is divided into five books, each divided into two "days" or diurnal lessons, and these are again divided into articles, and each article consists of a number of Sûtras. Nyâya is still a favorite study in India, and we have seen students from Kashmira and Rajputana and Northern India attending the celebrated Nyâya schools in Navadvîpa in Bengal, living in the houses of their teachers, and pursuing their studies for years together, in the very same way in which students among the Magadhas and Angas and Kosalas and Videhas pursued their studies when Gautama, the logician, lived and taught! Everything else has changed in India, but ancient traditional learning is still handed down in *tols* from generation to generation in the same ancient method. The spirit of the time, however, has told on these time-honored institutions, the mass of students

turn away from these secluded seats of learning to schools and universities; the founders of *tols* get scarcely enough to subsist upon, and travel from place to place to seek the bounty of well-disposed men; and the number of students is getting fewer year by year. Nevertheless, with their wonderful loyalty to the past, Hindu pandits and Hindu students still adhere to this ancient system of teaching, of which we have given a brief account before from the Dharma Sûtra; and it is to be hoped this relic of the past will yet survive modern changes and innovations.

The Nyâya system starts with the subjects to be discussed. These are (1) *Pramâna*, proof, and (2) *Prameya* or the thing to be proved. These are the principal subjects, while there are fourteen subsidiary subjects, *viz.*, (3) Doubt, (4) Motive, (5) Instance or Example, (6) Determined truth, (7) Argument or Syllogism, (8) Confutation, (9) Ascertainment, (10) Controversy, (11) Jangling, (12) Objection, (13) Fallacy, (14) Perversion, (15) Futility, and (16) Controversy.

Proof, as we have said before, is of four kinds: Perception, Inference, Analogy, and Verbal Testimony. Cause (*Kârana*) is that which necessarily precedes an effect, which could not be without the cause; and effect (*Kârya*) is that which necessarily ensues and otherwise could not be. For the relation of cause and effect, the connexions might be two-fold,—simple conjunction (*Sanjoga*), and constant relation (*Samavâya*). Hence

cause may be of three kinds: (1) Immediate and direct, as the yarn is of cloth; (2) Mediate or indirect, as the weaving is of cloth; and (3) Instrumental, as the loom is of cloth.

The things to be proved, the objects of knowledge are (1) Soul, (2) body, (3) the Senses, (4) the Objects of Sense, (5) Intellect, (6) *Manas*, (7) Production, (8) Fault, (9) Transmigration, (10) Fruit or Retribution, (11) Pain, (12) Emancipation.

The soul is different in each person, and is separate from the body *and the senses*, and is the seat of knowledge. Each individual soul is infinite, eternal, and transmigrates according to the works performed in life. So far we see an agreement with Kapila's philosophy. But the Nyâya adds that the Supreme Soul is one, the seat of eternal knowledge, and the maker or former of all things. The body is earthly, the five external senses are also material, and the *manas* is the organ of the senses. The reader will mark here in how far the Nyâya system, and indeed every system of Hindu philosophy, is indebted to the Sânkhya Philosophy, which may justly be called the first basis of Hindu Philosophy, as well as its highest development.

Intellect is two-fold, including *memory* and *concept*. A concept is true if derived from clear proof, and is wrong if not derived from proof. Similarly, memory may be right or wrong. The objects of sense are odour, taste, colour, touch and sound.

Production or action is the cause of virtue or vice, of merit or demerit; and the only motive to action, as we are told by European philosophers also, is the desire to attain pleasure or to avoid pain.

Transmigration is the passing of the soul to successive bodies. Pain is the primary evil, and there are twenty-one varieties of evil which are causes of pain. The soul attains its emancipation by knowledge and not by action.

It will be seen from the foregoing sketch that there is scarcely anything that is original in the Nyâya system as a system of mental philosophy. The speciality of Nyâya is its development of inference by the construction of a true syllogism, and, as Mr. Davies states, "the right methods of reasoning have been discussed with as much subtlety as by any of the Western logicians." We quote below an instance of Hindu syllogism:

1. The hill is fiery.
2. For it smokes.
3. Whatever smokes is fiery, as a kitchen.
4. The hill is smoking.
5. Therefore it is fiery.

The Hindu syllogism therefore consists of five parts, which are called (1) the proposition (*pratijnâ*), (2) the reason (*hetu* or *apadesa*), (3) the instance (*udâharana* or *nidarsana*), (4) the application of the reason (*upanaya*), and (5) the conclusion (*nigamana*). If the first two or

the last two parts are omitted, it becomes a perfect syllogism of Aristotle.

Among the many technical terms in use in Hindu logic, *Vyâpti* and *Upâdhi* are the most important *Vyâpti* means invariable concomitance,—the connection in the major premiss of Aristotle's syllogism. "Whatever smokes is fiery,"—this invariable concomitance is *Vyâpti*. As Sankara Misra argues, "It is not merely a relation of co-extension. Nor is it the relation of totality. For if you say that invariable concomitance is the connexion of the middle term with the whole of the major term, such connexion does not exist in the case of smoke (for smoke does not always exist where there is fire).* We proceed then to state that invariable concomitance is a connexion requiring no qualifying term or limitation. It is an extensiveness co-extensive with the predicate. In other words, invariable concomitance is invariable co-inherence of the predicate." *

On the other hand, the qualifying term or limitation is called *Upâdhi*. Fire always underlies smoke, but smoke does not invariably accompany fire. The proposition therefore that smoke accompanies fire requires a qualifying condition,—a limitation,—and *Upâdhi*, *viz.*, that there must be moist fuel.

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* Gough's Translation. Quoted in *Indian Wisdom*, *p.* 73.

We have no room to enter into the technicalities and the rigid and abstruse ratiocination of Hindu logic. Logic is a favorite study with learned Hindus, and neither the Ancient Greeks, nor the Mediæval Arabs, nor the European schoolmen of middle ages ever displayed more acuteness and subtlety in reasoning, or more rigid and scientific strictness in their discussions, than is witnessed in the numerous works of the Hindus on Logic.

Kanâda's atomical philosophy is supplementary to Gautama's logic, as the Yoga philosophy is supplementary to Sânkhya, and therefore need not detain us long. The cardinal principle of Kanâda is that all material substances are aggregates of atoms. The atoms are eternal, the aggregates only are perishable by disintegration.

The mote which is visible in the sunbeam is the smallest perceptible object. But being a substance and an effect, it must be composed of what is less than itself;—the ultimate atom only is not a compound, but is simple.

The first compound is of two atoms; the next consists of three double atoms, and so on. The mote visible in the sunbeam is thus a compound of six atoms. In this way two earthly atoms acting under an unseen law, *adrishta*, (and not under the will of God, which is unknown in Kanâda's philosophy,) constitute a double atom of earth; three binary atoms constitute

a tertiary atom; four tertiary atoms make a quaternary atom; and so on to gross, grosser and grossest masses of earth. In this manner the great earth is produced, the great water is thus produced from aqueous atoms, great light from luminous atoms, and great air from aerial atoms.

Kanâda recognizes six categories or objects *(padârtha), viz.*, (1) Substances, (2) Quality, (3) Action, (4) Community, (5) Particularity, (6) Coherence, and (7) Non-existence.

Under the first of these categories, the nine substances of Kanâda are (1) Earth, (2) Water, (3) Light, and (4) Air, all eternal in atoms, but transient and perishable in aggregates. Next is (5) *Akâsa* or Ether, which transmits sound, and which has no atoms but is infinite, one and eternal. As in Kapila's philosophy so in Kanâda's, we find a dim perception of the scientific truth that what conveys sound is not the air, but a certain subtler cause which was called by the name of *Akâsa*. (6) Time and (7) Space similarly are not material, and therefore are not compounded of atoms. They are infinite, one and eternal The last two in the category are (8) Soul and (9) *Manas* or the Internal Organ.

The second category, Quality, embraces 17 varieties or qualities of the nine substances enumerated above. The qualities are colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, extension, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, intellections, pleasure, pain,

desire, aversion and volition. *Light and heat are considered as only different forms of the same substance.* Âkâsa or ether has the quality of sound; and Manas or the internal organ is supposed to be extremely small, like an atom.

The third category, Action, is divided into five kinds, upward and downward movement, contraction, dilation, and general motion.

The fourth category, Community, is the source of our notion of genus. It denotes qualities common to many objects and also denotes species. These genera and species have a real and objective existence according to Kanâda, but not according to the Buddhas, who affirm that individuals only have existence, and that abstractions are false conceptions. "It is the quarrel revived in the Realist and Nominalist theories of the mediæval schoolmen."*

The fifth category, Particularity, denotes simple objects, devoid of community. They are soul, mind, time, place, the ethereal element, and atoms.

The sixth category, Coherence (the *samavâya* of Gautama's philosophy), is connection between things which must be connected so long as they exist, as yarn and cloth.

The seventh category, Non-existence, is either universal or mutual.

* *Davies*, p. 131.

It will be seen from the above brief account that the Vaisesika system of Kanâda, in so far as it is an original system, is physics more than philosophy. It was the first attempt made in India to inquire into the laws of matter and force, of combination and disintegration.

In every system of Hindu Philosophy (except Vedântism) matter is supposed to be eternal, and distinct from soul. The Vedântists alone regard matter as the manifestation of the One Supreme Soul who comprises and is himself *all*. Of this system we will speak in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TWO MIMANSA SCHOOLS, OR ORTHODOX PHILOSOPHY.

WE now come to the last two systems of the philosophy of the Hindus, the Pûrva Mimânsâ of Jaimini and the Uttara Mimânsâ of Bâdarâyana Vyâsa. As philosophy, the Mimânsâ schools have little that is new, but to the historian of India they are of the utmost importance and value. For the Mimânsâ schools represent the conservative phase of the Hindu mind at a time when philosophers and laymen were alike drifting towards agnostic and heterodox opinions. Sânkhya philosophy led away hosts of thinking men from the teachings of the Upanishads on the Universal Soul; and the Buddhist religion was embraced by masses of the lower classes as a relief from caste inequalities and elaborate Vedic rites. Against this general movement of the day the Mimânsâ schools made a stand. The Pûrva Mimânsâ insisted on those Vedic rites and practices which modern philosophers had come to regard as useless or even as unholy; and the Uttara Mimânsâ proclaimed those pantheistic doctrines which the Upanishads had taught before.

The controversy, or rather the division in opinion, went on for centuries, but orthodoxy prevailed in India in the end. The great Kumârila Bhatta, who lived in the seventh century after Christ, wrote his celebrated Vârtika or commentary on the Pûrva Mimânsâ Sûtras, and was the most redoubted champion of the reviving Hinduism of his day, and the most uncompromising antagonist of decaying Buddhism. He not only vindicated the ancient rites of the Vedas, he not only proclaimed against the heterodox opinions of the Buddhists, but he denied them any consideration even when they happened to agree with the Veda.

The Uttara Mimânsâ too had its champion,—and a greater man than Kumârila rose, two centuries later, in the celebrated Sankarâchârya. The Uttara Mimânsâ or Vedânta Sûtra is known as the Sârîraka Mimânsâ or Brahma Sûtra, and Sankara's great commentary is known as the Sârîraka Mimânsâ Bhâsya. Colebrooke, Wilson and Raja Ram Mohan Roy fixed the close of the eighth century or the commencement of the ninth as the date when Sankara flourished. Later researches have confirmed this supposition, and it has been ascertained that Sankara was born in 788 A. D., and therefore wrote and preached in the first half of the ninth century.

Thus both Kumârila and Sankarâchârya belong to the Pauranik Period, but they finally secured the triumph of that orthodox philosophy which took its rise in the

Rationalistic Period. The history of philosophy in India is the history of the Hindu mind; and an account of the systems of philosophy which took their rise in the Rationalistic Period would not be intelligible, unless we indicated, however briefly, the bearings of these systems on the later history of the nation.

The Sûtras of the Pûrva Mimânsâ are ascribed to Jaimini, and are divided into twelve lectures and subdivided into sixty chapters. The Sûtras have an old commentary by Sabara Svâmî Bhatta. Kumârila Bhatta came later on the stage, and his commentary, as we have stated before, marks a new epoch in the history of this school, and has been respected by a host of succeeding commentators.

Jaimini's Sûtras, as stated before, are divided into twelve lectures. The first lecture treats of the authority of enjoined duty. The varieties of duty, supplemental duties, and the purpose of the performance of duties are treated in the second, third, and fourth chapters. The order of their performance is considered in the fifth, and the qualification for their performance is treated in the sixth. This completes the first half of the Sûtras.

The subject of indirect precept is treated in chapters seventh and eighth. Inferrable changes are discussed in the ninth, and exceptions in the tenth chapter. Efficacy is considered in the eleventh chapter, and the work closes with a discussion of co-ordinate effect in the twelfth chapter.

These are the principal topics of the Pûrva Mimânsâ Sûtras, but a great many other matters are introduced, and we will briefly notice some of them which Colebrook has presented at greater length to the English reader in his excellent analysis.

In the very first lecture we are told that the Vedas are eternal and revealed. It had no human origin, because no human author is remembered. This eternal and superhuman (*i.e.*, revealed) Veda consists of two parts, *Mantra* and *Brâhmana*. Mantras are distinguished under three designations, *viz.*, (1) those in metre are Rik, (2) those chanted are Sâman, and (3) the rest are Yajush. Generally a Mantra is a prayer or invocation ; a Brâhmana is a precept directing religious observances, and the Brâhmanas include the Upanishads.

After the Veda, which is *Sruti*, comes the *Smriti*, or works *composed by holy personages*, and possessing authority as grounded on the Veda. *Smriti* includes the *Dharmasâstras* (the Dharma Sûtras of the Rationalistic Period), comprising the institutes of civil and religious law.

Besides the Dharma Sûtras we are told of the *Kalpa Sûtras*, also composed by authors conversant with the Veda. The Kalpa Sûtras are not a part of the Veda, and have no authority except as is derived from the Veda. The reader will mark the broad line of demarcation which Hindus draw between the Brâhmana

literature, which is considered revealed and eternal, and the Sûtra literature, which is ascribed to human authors, and has no independent authority. The priority of the Brâhmana literature may fairly be inferred from this.*

Sacrifice (*Vâga*) is the act of religion most inculcated in the Veda, and consequently most discussed in the Mimânsâ. Three ceremonies are mentioned as types of the rest: they are the setting up of the sacrificial fire, the presenting of an oblation, and the preparation of the Soma. Various curious questions are raised and discussed and answered with regard to sacrifices. One very remarkable example will suffice.

At certain sacrifices the votary is told to bestow all his property to the officiating priests. The question is raised whether a king should give up all lands, including pasture lands, highways, and the sites of lakes and ponds. The answer is that *a king has not property in the land*, and cannot bestow it. His kingly power is for the government of the realm, but the right of property is not thereby vested in him, else he would have property in house and lands appertaining to his subjects. The lands of a kingdom cannot be given away by a king, but a house or field acquired by purchase, &c., may be given away.

Similarly, the question of self-immolation on fire, the question of performing sacrifices to injure others, and

* See *ante*, Book II, Chapter I.

various similar questions are discussed with considerable acumen and closeness of reasoning. A complete *Adhikarana* or argument according to the Mimânsâ consists of five members, *viz.*, (1) the subject, (2) the doubt, (3) the first side, (4) the answer, (5) the pertinence or relevancy. Jaimini's aphorisms do not ordinarily exhibit all these five members; some are left to be surmised. But the disquisitions of the Mimânsâ resemble juridical disquisitions. As Colebrooke remarks, the logic of the Mimânsâ is the logic of the law. "Each case is examined and determined upon general principles, and from the cases decided the principles may be collected. A well ordered arrangement of them would constitute the philosophy of the law; and this is in truth what has been attempted in the Mimânsâ."

To return to the subject of sacrifices, which is the all-pervading subject of the Pûrva Mimânsâ, we are told the full complement of persons officiating at a great ceremony is seventeen, *viz.*, the sacrificer and sixteen priests. On occasions of less solemnity four priests only are engaged.

The number of victims varies according to the nature of the sacrifice. At an *Asvamehda* sacrifice there must be not fewer than 609 victims of all kinds, tame and wild, terrestrial and aquatic, walking, flying, swimming, and creeping things!

The cardinal idea of the Mimânsâ is to teach man his *Duty*. Jaimini commences his Mimânsâ with the enun-

ciation of Duty, the only topic he has to propound. "Now then," he begins, "the study of Duty is to be commenced. Duty is a purpose which is inculcated by a command. Its reason must be inquired." But his idea of Duty is extremely orthodox, it consists in the proper performance of Vedic rites and practices! Pûrva Mimânsâ Philosophy is therefore a philosophy of Vedic rites.

In his anxiety to insist on ancient Vedic rites and practices Jaimini has forgotten to speak of Vedic faith and belief! As Dr. Banerjea says in his Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy, Jaimini "urges the consideration of *Duty* without caring for any to whom it may be *due*." While insisting on the eternity of the Veda, as Sabda or the Word, he has made no mention "of any co-eternal Intelligence uttering or revealing it." While enjoining the performance of the sacrifices inculcated in the Brâhmanas, he has nothing to say of the Universal Soul of the Upanishads. The Philosophy of Jaimini has, therefore, although orthodox, been stigmatized as atheistical, or at least agnostic, in some of the Purânas; and even Sankarâchârya admits that God is not deducible from this philosophy.

A supplementary system of philosophy was therefore called for, and the Uttara Mimânsâ or Vedânta supplied this want. It is Vedânta which tells us of the Supreme Spirit, the Universal Soul, the Pervading Breath, as the Purva Mimânsâ speaks of rites and

sacrifices. The Vedânta is the direct outcome of the Upanishads as the Purva Mimânsâ is the outcome of the Brâhmanas. The very first aphorism of the Vedânta substitutes Brahma or God for Dharma or Duty. The two schools of Mimânsâ taken together represent orthodox Vedic Hinduism,—Hinduism in rites and observances, and Hinduism in its pantheistic belief. The two schools taken together are an answer to Buddhist heretics who ignored Vedic rites and ignored a Supreme Being. The two schools together are an answer also to the agnostic Sânkhya system of philosophy, and form the basis of modern Hinduism in its philosophical aspect.

The Sârîraka Mimânsâ Sûtra or Brahma Sûtra is attributed to Bâdarâyana Vyâsa, who is said to be identical with Krishna Dvaipâyana Vyâsa, the alleged compiler of the Vedas, although the Sûtra must have been compiled a thousand years after the Vedas were first compiled! The Brahma Sûtra refers to the doctrines of Kapila, and the Yoga of Patanjali; and also to the Atomic theory of Kanâda, which is itself a sequel to the Nyâya of Gautama. There is reference also to Jaimini, and to the sects of Jainas, Buddhas and Pâsupatas; and altogether the Brahma Sûtra is undoubtedly the latest of the six schools of philosophy.

The Vedânta adopts the adhikarana of the Pûrva Mimânsâ with its five members, and the syllogism of Nyâya with the obvious improvement of reducing its

five members into three as in the syllogism of Aristotle. Colebrooke thinks this improvement was borrowed from the Greeks.

Bâdarâyana's Sârîraka Mimânsâ or Brahma Sûtra is divided into four lectures, and each lecture is subdivided into four chapters. Anything like a complete analysis of this work is impossible within our limits, and we must therefore glean a few leading tenets from Colebrook's excellent analysis, to which we refer those of our readers who wish to have an adequate idea of the subject.

The Uttara Mimânsâ opens precisely as the Pûrva Mimânsâ, announcing its purport in the very same terms, only substituting Brahma or God for Dharma or Duty. The author then confutes the Sânkhya doctrine of Nature being the material cause of the universe, and declares a Sentient Rational Being to be the First Cause. That Supreme Being is the material as well as the efficient cause of the universe, and to Him meditation should be directed, and on Him the thoughts are to be fixed for obtaining final emancipation.

The second lecture continues the confutation of Kapila's Sânkhya philosophy as well of Patanjali's Yoga and Kanâda's Atomic theory. All the universe is rigidly assigned to Brahma, who is the Cause and the Effect. The distinction between cause and effect, and between different effects, does not invalidate the unity of the

whole. "The sea is one and not other than its waters; yet waves, foam, spray, drops, froth and other modifications of it differ from each other" (II, 1, 5). "As milk changes into curd, and water to ice, so is Brahma variously transformed." (II, 1, 8).

Then follows a confutation of the doctrines of the Sânkhyas, the Vaisisikas, the Bauddhas, the Jainas, the Pâsupatas and Pâncharâtras; the Nyâya is unnoticed.

The soul is active, not passive as the Sânkhyas maintain. Its activity is however adventitious. As the carpenter, having tools in hand, toils and suffers, and laying them aside, rests and is easy, so the soul in conjunction with the senses and organs is active, and quitting them, reposes (II, 3, 15). The soul is a portion of the Supreme Ruler, as a spark is of fire (II, 3, 17). As the sun's image reflected on water is tremulous, quaking with the undulations of the pool, without however affecting the images on other sheets of water, or the solar orb itself, so the sufferings of one individual affect not another, nor the Supreme Ruler. The corporeal organs and the vital actions are all modifications of Brahma.

The third lecture treats of transmigration of souls, of the attainment of knowledge, of final emancipation, and of the attributes of the Supreme Being. The soul transmigrates, invested with a subtle frame, passing from one state to another. Departing from one body, it ascends the moon, experiences there the re-

compense of its works, and returns to occupy a new body with the resulting influence of its former deeds. Evil doers suffer in seven appointed regions of retribution. The returning soul passes through ether, air, vapour, mist, and cloud into rain, and thus finds its way into a plant, and thence through the medium of nourishment into an animal embryo (III, 1, 1 to 6).

The Supreme Being is unpassable, unaffected by worldly modifications, as the clear crystal seemingly coloured by the hibiscus flower is really pellucid. He is pure Sense, Intellect, Thought.

"Like the sun and other luminaries, seemingly multiplied by reflection though really single, and like space apparently subdivided in vessels containing it within limits, the Supreme Light is without difference or distinction." "There is none other but He," (III, 2). The reader will perceive that the Vedânta philosophy is a direct and legitimate result of the Upanishads, and the idea of Monoism is carried to the extreme limit in the Vedânta as in the Upanishads.

The last half of this lecture relates to devout exercises and pious meditation, which are necessary for the reception of divine knowledge.

The fourth and last lecture relates to the fruit of pious meditation properly conducted, and the attainment of divine knowledge. So soon as that knowledge is attained, past sins are annulled and future sins are precluded. In like manner the effects of merit

and virtue are also annulled. And "having annulled by fruition other works which had begun to have effect, having enjoyed the recompense and suffered the pains of good and bad actions, the possessor of divine knowledge, on the demise of the body, proceeds to a reunion with Brahma" (IV, 1, 14). This is the final emancipation of the Vedântists.

There are two other less perfect forms of emancipation: one which qualifies the soul for reception at Brahma's abode, but not for immediate reunion and identity with his being; another, which is still less perfect, is called *Jîvan-mukti*, which can be acquired in lifetime by Yogis, and enables them to perform supernatural acts, as evoking the shades of forefathers, assuming different bodies, going immediately to any place at pleasure, &c. This is only a repetition of the superstition of the Yoga philosophy, described in a previous chapter.

The attributes of God according to the Vedânta philosophy have thus been recapitulated by Colebrooke: "God is the omnicient and omnipotent cause of the existence, continuance, and dissolution of the universe. Creation is an act of His will. He is both efficient and material cause of the world, creator and nature, framer and frame, doer and deed. At the consummation of all things, all are resolved into Him. * * The Supreme Being is one, sole existent, secondless, entire, without parts, sempiternal, infinite, ineffable, invariable

ruler of all, universal soul, truth, wisdom, intelligence, happiness." *

An idea has become current among later Vedântists that all the universe except Brahma is *Mâyâ*, *i. e.*, an illusion, a phantasy, an unreal appearance only. This notion is no part of the original Vedânta philosophy, and finds no sanction in ancient works. Ancient Vedântism declares the universe to be a portion of Brahma, emanating from Brahma, and resolving into Brahma; but it does not declare that this emanation from Brahma, this universe, is unreal or illusory.

Such are the six systems of philosophy which were developed in India in the Rationalistic Period; such are the answers which Hindu philosophers have given to the questions which were started in the Upanishads, to questions which rise in the mind of every reflective man, but which it is not given to him to answer satisfactorily,—what is God, and what is the universe?

For the rest, the Rationalistic Period is rich in results of which every Hindu may be proud. It was probably in this period that the great Epics of India received their epic form. It was in this period that the infant sciences of Geometry and of Grammar were first discovered by Hindus and proclaimed to the world. It was in this period that the first-recorded systems of Mental Philosophy and of Logic were con-

* *The Philosophy of the Hindus. Vedântâ.*

ceived and perfected. It was in this period that Laws and the rules of social life were codified and treated on a scientific basis. It was in this period that the whole of Northern India was first brought under one great and able ruler, and that an excellent and enlightened system of administration was finally perfected. And, lastly, it was in this period that the great saint and reformer Gautama Buddha proclaimed that religion of equality and brotherhood of man which is at the present day the living faith of one-third of the human race. To that great revolution we now turn.

CHAPTER XIII.

BUDDHIST SACRED LITERATURE.

IN the sixth century before Christ, India witnessed the commencement of a great revolution. Her ancient religion, which the Hindu Aryans had practised and proclaimed for fourteen centuries, had degenerated into forms. The gods of the Rig Veda whom the ancient Rishis had invoked and worshipped, lovingly and fervently, had come to be regarded as so many names; and Indra and Ushas raised no distinct ideas and no grateful emotions. The simple libations of the Soma juice, or offerings of milk, corn or flesh, which the Rishis of old had offered to their gods in the simplicity of their hearts, had developed into cumbrous ceremonials, elaborate rites, unmeaning forms. The descendants or successors of those Rishis had now stepped forth as a powerful and hereditary caste, and claimed the right to perform elaborate religious rites and utter sacred prayers for the people. The people were taught to believe that they earned merit by having

these rites performed and prayers uttered by hired priests. The religious instinct, the loving emotions which had inspired the composers of the Vedic hymns were dead; vast ceremonials, dead forms, remained.

A reaction had taken place. About the eleventh century before Christ, *i.e.*, five centuries before the time of which we are now speaking, earnest and thoughtful Hindus had ventured to go beyond the wearisome rituals of the Brâhmana literature, and had inquired into the mysteries of the soul and its Creator. The composers of the Upanishads had dared to conceive the bold idea that all animate and inanimate nature proceeded from One Universal Deity, and were portions of One Pervading Soul. Inquiries were made into the mysteries of death and the future world, conjectures were made about the transmigration of souls, and doctrines were started containing in a crude form the salient principles of Hindu philosophy.

But few could devote their lives to these abstruse speculations, and the abstruse philosophy which they led to. The mass of the Aryan householders,—Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas,—contented themselves with performing the rites, unintelligible to them, which the Brâhmans had laid down and the Sûtras had condensed. The rules of social and domestic life were similarly condensed for the people in the Sûtras, and all

the learning and science known to the age were also codified in the Sûtra form.

Such was the state of things in India in the sixth century before Christ. Religion in its true sense had been replaced by forms. Excellent social and moral rules were disfigured by the unhealthy distinctions of caste, by exclusive privileges for Brâhmans, by cruel laws for Sûdras. Honor and reverence were paid those who lived piously and duteously, but in a higher degree to those who were born Brâhmans. Such exclusive caste privileges did not help to improve the Brâhmans themselves. As a community they became grasping and covetous, ignorant and pretentious, until Brâhman Sûtrakâras themselves had to censure the abuse in the strongest terms. For the Sûdras, who had come under the shelter of the Aryan religion, there was no religious instruction, no religious observance, no social respect. Despised and degraded in the community in which they lived, they sighed for a change. And the invidious distinction became unbearable as they increased in number, pursued various useful industries, owned lands and villages, and gained in influence and power. Thus society was still held in the cast-iron mould which it had long out-grown ; and the social, religious, and legal literature of the day still proclaimed and upheld the cruel injustice against the Sûdra long after the Sûdra had become civilized and industrious, and a worthy member of society.

To an earnest and inquisitive mind, to a sympathetic and benevolent soul, there was something anomalous in all this. Gautama of the Sâkya race was versed in the Hindu learning and religion of the age, but he pondered and asked if what he had learnt could be efficacious or true. His righteous soul rebelled against the unrighteous distinctions between man and man; and his benevolent heart hankered for a means to help the humble, the oppressed, and the lowly. The dead ceremonials and rites which householders practised appeared as vain and fruitless to him as the penances and mortifications which hermits voluntarily underwent in forests. The beauty of a holy life, of a sinless benevolent career, flashed before his mind's eye as the perfection of human destiny, as the heaven on earth; and with the earnest conviction of a prophet and a reformer, he proclaimed this as the essence of religion. His world-embracing sympathy led him to proclaim this method of self-culture and holy living to suffering humanity, and he invited the poor and the lowly to end their sufferings by cultivating virtue, by eschewing passions and desires, and by spreading brotherly love and universal peace. The Brâhman and the Sûdra, the high and the low, were the same in his eyes, all could equally effect their salvation by a holy life, and he invited all to embrace his catholic religion of love. Mankind responded to the touching appeal and Buddhism in the course of a few centuries became

the prevailing faith, not of a sect or a country, but of the continent of Asia.*

Nevertheless, it would be historically wrong to suppose that Gautama Buddha consciously set himself up as the founder of a new religion. On the contrary, he believed to the last that he was proclaiming only the ancient and pure form of religion which had prevailed among Hindus, among Brâhmans, Srâmans and others, but which had been corrupted at a later day. As a matter of fact, Hinduism recognized wandering bodies of ascetics who renounced the world, performed no Vedic rites, and passed their days in contemplation (see *ante*, p. 98). Such bodies were known as Bhikshus in the Hindu law books, and were generally known as Srâmans. Gautama founded only one sect of Srâmans among many sects which then existed, and his sect was known as that of the

* The figures given below will shew approximately the proportion of Buddhists to the world's population :—

Jews	7,000,000
Christians	328,000,000
Hindus	160,000,000
Musalmans	155,000,000
Buddhists	500,000,000
Not included in the above	100,000,000
Population of the world	1,250,000,000

Between the fifth and tenth centuries after Christ more than one-half of the human race were Buddhists.

Sâkyaputrîya Srâmans to distinguish them from others. He taught them relinquishment of the world, a holy life, and pious meditation, such as all sects of Srâmans recommended and practised.

What then is the distinguishing feature in Buddha's life-work which has made his tenets a religion,—and the religion of a third of the human race?

We answer, *his character*. Gautama's holy and pious life, his world-embracing sympathy, his unsurpassed moral precepts, his gentle and beautiful character, stamped themselves on his teachings which were not altogether new, gathered round him the meek and the lowly, the gentlest and the best of the Aryans, struck kings on their thrones and peasants in their cottages, and united sects and castes together as in a communion of love! And the sacred recollections of his life and doings remained after he had passed away, and held together the community which cherished his teachings, and in course of time gave those teachings the character of a distinct and noble religion.

Inspired by his love of purity, and a holy, gentle life, Gautama eschewed the rites of the Vedas and the penances of ascetics alike; he insisted only on self-culture, on benevolence, on pious resignation. He knew no difference between man and man except by their acts; he recognized no meritorious ceremonials and no meritorious penances except the practice of virtue. This is what has made Buddhism a *living and life-*

giving religion, when so many rival forms of asceticism have withered and died away.

It will be our endeavour to indicate the salient features of the Buddhist religion, and its far-reaching consequences on the people of India. Fortunately, we have no reason to complain of want of materials.

Indeed, so much has been written about Buddhism in recent years that it is almost difficult to imagine that Buddhist literature and religion were almost an unknown subject half a century ago. The distinguished missionary, Dr. Marshman, who lived and wrote in India for many years, could give no better account of Buddha in 1824 than that his worship was probably connected with the Egyptian Apis! And theories more wild and more imaginary were seriously recorded by other scholars.

Happily those days are past. Earnest enquirers and scholars have collected oriental manuscripts and works in different Buddhist countries, have studied, published, and translated many of them, and have thus formed a generally accurate idea of the religion as it was first preached by Gautama and as it was subsequently modified in different times among different nations. It is not our purpose to record here a history of the researches into Buddhism during the last half century but a few facts are so interesting that they cannot be passed over.

Mr. Hodgson was the English resident of Nepal from 1833 to 1843, and he was the first to collect original manuscripts on which a sober account of the religion could be based. He sent 85 bundles to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 85 to the Royal Asiatic Society of London, 30 to the India Office Library, 7 to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and 174 to the Société Asiatique in Paris, or to M. Burnouf personally. Mr. Hodgson also gave some account of these works and of the Buddhist religion in his essays.

The genius of Eugene Burnouf breathed life into these dead manuscripts, and his "Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism," published in 1844, was the first rational, scientific, and comprehensive account of the Buddhist religion. The fame of the eminent scholar and the great ability and philosophical acumen with which he treated the subject, attracted the attention of learned Europe to this wonderful religion, and the enquiry which Burnouf started has continued to the present day and has been fruitful of great results.

What Hodgson did in Nepal, Alexander Csoma Korosi, a Hungarian scholar, did in Thibet. The annals of literary inquiry and research have few more wonderful stories to tell than that of the single-minded devotion of this simple Hungarian. He early made up his mind to devote himself to the study of eastern languages, and he set forth from Bucharest in 1820, without friends or money, and travelled on foot or by water

on a raft till he came to Bagdad. He pushed on to Teharan and thence started again with a caravan and came by Khorasan to Bokhara. In 1822 he came to Kabul and thence to Lahore, and from Lahore he travelled through Kashmir to Ladak where he finally settled. He sojourned and travelled long in these parts, and in 1831 he was at Simla "dressed in a coarse blue cloth loose gown, extending to his heels, and a small cloth cap of the same material. He wore a grizzly beard, shunned the society of Europeans, and passed his whole time in study."* In 1832 he came to Calcutta, where he was kindly received by Dr. Wilson and Mr. James Prinsep, and resided many years. In 1842 he left Calcutta again to go to Thibet, but died of fever on his way, at Darjeeling. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has raised a monument on his grave in Darjeeling. The present writer had the mournful satisfaction of paying a visit to this grave, not many months ago.

About his work on the Thibetan Buddhist books, we find all necessary information in Vol. XX of the Asiatic Researches. Since Csoma's time other scholars have laboured in the same field of Thibetan Buddhist literature, and have added to our knowledge of the subject.

To the Rev. Samuel Beal is due the credit of procuring a complete collection of Chinese works on Bud-

* Quoted in Beal's *Buddhism in China*, from Ralston's *Thibetan Tales*.

dhism. A request was made to this effect to the Japanese ambassador who visited England, and the ambassador at once acceded to the request, and on his return to Tokio ordered the entire collection known as "The Sacred Teaching of the Three Treasures" to be sent to England. The collection contains over 2,000 volumes, and represents the entire series of sacred books taken during successive centuries from India to China, as also works and commentaries of native Chinese priests.

Buddhism and Buddhist scriptures were carried to Ceylon in the reign of Asoka the Great, about 242 B. C., and the whole of the Buddhist scriptures, the "three baskets," exist to this day in Ceylon, as we will see further on, in the Pâli language, and in almost the identical shape in which they were taken there over two thousand years ago. A number of eminent scholars, Turnour, Fausböll, Oldenberg, Childers, Spence Hardy, Rhys Davids, Max Müller, Weber and others, have worked on these materials, and much of the Pâli scriptures has been published, and the most important portions of them have been translated.

Burma too has contributed to our knowledge of Buddhism, and a great deal of information on Burmese Buddhism is embodied in Bigandet's life of the Gaudama first published in 1868. All countries near and around India have furnished us with valuable records and contributions towards a scholarlike knowledge of this great religion. India alone,—the home of that

religion,—the country where it flourished more or less for nearly fifteen centuries,—has kept no memorials worth the name of that noble faith! So complete has been the destruction of Buddhism, Buddhist monasteries, and Buddhist records in India!

Thanks to the researches of the scholars whom we have named above, the English-reading public have sufficient materials before them now for studying the developments of Buddhism in the different countries of the world, in China, Japan and Thibet, in Burma and Ceylon. English readers can thus study the progress of the religion in its various phases, at different ages, and among different conditions of life and civilization.

The historian of India must however forego that pleasant and most interesting task. The developments which Buddhism received in China, and Thibet and Burma, have no direct bearing on Indian history. It is his duty, therefore, to select from the materials before him those works only which illustrate the history of *Early Buddhism in India.* It is necessary for him to go to the fountain source of the information which is available, and to place his reliance on those works specially which illustrate the rise of Buddhism in India in the Rationalistic Period.

The form of Buddhism prevailing in Nepal and Thibet, China and Japan, is called Northern Buddhism, while the form prevailing in Ceylon. and Burma is called

Southern Buddhism. The Northern Buddhists furnish us with scanty materials directly illustrating the religion in its earliest form in India. The sacred books of the Northern Buddhists are not included in any comprehensive common name, and, as far as is known, none of them can be referred to the period immediately following on Gautama's death. Kanishka, the King of Kashmir, convened a great council of Northern Buddhists in the first century after Christ, but the council, instead of collecting together the sacred works of the Northern Buddhists, wrote three great commentaries. The Lalita Vistâra, a most important work of the Northern Buddhists, is only a gorgeous poem; it is no more a biography of Gautama than the Paradise Lost is a biography of Jesus. It was composed probably in Nepal in the second or third or fourth century after Christ, although it contains passages,—the Gathas,—which are of a very much older date. In China, Buddhism was introduced from the first century after Christ, but did not become the state religion until the fourth century, and the works on Buddhism which were then carried by Chinese pilgrims from India from century to century, and translated into the Chinese language, do not illustrate the earliest phase of Buddhism in India. And lastly, Thibet has drifted still further away from primitive Buddhism in India, and has adopted forms and ceremonies which were unknown to Gautama and his followers in the fifth century before Christ.

On the other hand the Southern Buddhists furnish us with the most valuable materials for our purpose. The sacred books of the Southern Buddhists are known by the inclusive name of the Three Pitakas; and there is evidence to shew that these Pitakas, now extant in Ceylon, are substantially identical with the canon as settled in the Council of Patna about 242 B. C. It is necessary that we should here briefly indicate the nature of this evidence.

The date of Buddha's death was for a long time believed to be 543 B. C.; but many facts ascertained within the last thirty years lead to the conclusion that the great reformer was born about 557 B. C., and died in 477 B. C. A Council of 500 monks was held in Râjagriha, the capital of Magadha, immediately after his death, and they chanted the sacred laws together to fix them on their memory. A hundred years later, *i. e.*, in 377 B. C., a second Council was held in Vesâli, mainly for the discussion and settlement of ten questions on which difference of opinion had arisen. A hundred and eighteen years after this, *i. e.*, in 259 B. C., the great Asoka was coronated king of the Magadhas, and a third Council was held by him in Patna about 242 B. C. to finally settle the religious works or Pitakas.

It is well known that Asoka was a most zealous Buddhist, and sent missionaries to foreign countries, and even to Syria, Macedon and Egypt, to preach the religion. He sent his own son Mahinda to Tissa, the king of

Ceylon, about 242 B. C., and Mahinda took with him a number of Buddhist monks, and thus conveyed to Ceylon the Pitakas as just settled in the Council of Patna.* It is needless to say that Tissa, the king of Ceylon, was glad to embrace the religion which Asoka recommended and his son preached, and thus Ceylon embraced Buddhism in the third century B. C. About a hundred and fifty years after this these Pitakas were formally reduced to writing, and thus we have the most authentic account of the earliest form of Buddhism in Magadha in the Pâli Pitakas of Ceylon.

These facts will shew that the Three Pitakas of the Southern Buddhists can claim a date anterior to 242 B. C. For no work which could not claim a respectable antiquity was included as canon by the Council of Patna. Indeed, there is internal evidence in the Vinaya Pitaka to lead to the supposition that the main portions of that Pitaka were settled before the Vesâli Council, *i.e.*, before 377 B. C. For in the main portions of the Vinaya Pitaka there is no mention of the discussion on the ten questions alluded to above,—questions which were "as important for the history of Buddhism as the Arian controversy for that of Christianity," and which agitated the whole of the Buddhist world to its

* Dîpavansa, XII. According to this historical epic of Ceylon Mahinda was the son of Asoka (born when Asoka was a subking at Ujjayinî under his father who was king at Magadha), by the daughter of the Sethi or banker of Vidisâ. *Dîpavansa*, VI, 15 and 16.

very centre. The ten points in dispute were also matters of ecclesiastical law, and yet there is no decision in the main portions of the Vinaya Pitaka on these points of law, no allusion to the great controversy which burst into flame in the 4th century B. C. and required the convocation of the Vesâli Council. The inference is irresistible that the main portion of the Vinaya Pitaka is anterior to the date of the Council, *i. e.*, anterior to 377 B. C.

The same may be said of the main portions of the Sutta Pitaka. The third or Abhidamma Pitaka gradually grew up later, and assumed its place by the side of Vinaya and Sutta, at the time of Asoka or earlier.

We have thus found in the Scriptures of the Southern Buddhists reliable materials for the history of India for the centuries immediately before the time of Asoka. For the contents of the Three Pitakas were composed, settled and arranged in India during the hundred or two hundred years after the death of Gautama, just as the four Christian Gospels were composed and settled within a century or two after the death of Jesus. Hence the Three Pitakas illustrate the manners and life of the Hindus and the history of Hindu kingdoms on the Gangetic valley. And, lastly, they give us a more consistent and a less exaggerated account of the life and work and teachings of Buddha himself than anything which the Northern Buddhists can supply us with. Both as an index to the Hindu

civilization of the period, and as an account of Gautama's life and work, the Three Pitakas will be our guide. It is to these Pâli works that "we must go in preference to all other sources if we desire to know whether any information is obtainable regarding Buddha and his life." *

The Three Pitakas are known, as we have seen before, as the Sutta Pitaka, the Vinaya Pitaka, and the Abhidhamma Pitaka. The works comprised in the Sutta Pitaka profess to record the sayings and doings of Gautama Buddha himself. Gautama himself is the actor and the speaker in the earliest works of this Pitaka, and his doctrines are conveyed in his own words. Occasionally one of his disciples is the instructor, and there are short introductions to indicate where and when Gautama or his disciple spoke. But all through the Sutta Pitaka, Gautama's doctrines and moral precepts are preserved, professedly in Gautama's own words.

The Vinaya Pitaka contain very minute rules, often on the most trivial subjects, for the conduct of monks and nuns,—the Bhikkhus and the Bhikkhunîs who had embraced the holy order. Gautama respected the lay disciple (Upâsaka), but he held that to embrace the Order was a quicker path to salvation. As the number of Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunîs multiplied, it was necessary to fix elaborate rules, often on very minute sub-

* Oldenberg's *Buddha*, (translation), p. 75.

jects, for their proper conduct and behaviour in the Vihâra or monastery. As Gautama lived for nearly half a century after he had proclaimed his religion, there can be no doubt that he himself settled many of these rules. At the same time it is equally certain that many of the minute rules grew up after his death, but they are all attributed in the Vinaya Pitaka to the direct order of the Blessed One himself.

And lastly, the Abhidamma Pitaka contains disquisitions on various subjects, like the conditions of life in different worlds, on the explanations of personal qualities, on the elements, the causes of existence, &c. They have been miscalled metaphysics, for early Buddhism knows little of metaphysics. We now subjoin a list of works contained in the Three Pitakas.

I. Sutta Pitaka.

1. Dîgha Nikâya or long treatises, being a collection of 34 Suttas. Seven of them with translations by Burnouf and Gogerly have been edited in Paris, and one other, the Mahâ Parinibbâna Sutta has been translated by Rhys Davids in his "Buddhist Suttas."

2. Majjhima Nikâya or middling treatises, a collection of 152 Suttas of moderate size. They are being edited by Dr. Trenckner.

3. Samyutta Nikâya, or the connected treatises.

4. Anguttara Nikâya, treatises in divisions the length of which increases by one. They are being edited by Dr. Morris.

5. Khuddaka Nikâya or short treatises. It contains 15 works which should be mentioned in detail.*

(1) Khuddaka Pâtha or short passages, published with translation by Childers.

(2) Dhammapada, published by Fausböll with Latin translation in 1855, and since translated into German by Weber (1860) and into English by Max Müller (1881).

(3) Udâna, 82 short lyries supposed to have been uttered by Gautama at different periods under strong emotion.

(4) Itivuttika, 110 sayings of Buddha.

(5) Sutta Nipâta, 70 didactic poems, thirty of them translated by Sir Coomara Swamy; the whole translated by Fausböll.

(6) Vimâna Vatthu, stories of celestial mansions.

(7) Peta Vatthu on departed spirits.

(8) Thera Gâthâ, stanzas of monks. } Being edited for the
(9) Therî Gâthâ, stanzas of nuns. } Pâli Text Society.

(10) Jâtaka, 550 stories of former births, text and commentary published by Fausböll and translated by Rhys Davids.

(11) Niddesa, explanations on the Sutta Nipâta (No. 5) by Sâriputta.

(12) Pati sambhidâ, on intuitive insight.

(13) Apadâna, legends about Arhats or Saints.

* The 15 works composing the fifth Nikâya are by some classed as Abhidhamma, and not in the Sutta Pitaka.

(14) Buddha Vansa. Lives of 24 preceding Buddhas and of Gautama the historical Buddha. Being edited for the Pâli Text Society.

(15) Kariya Pitaka, Gautama's virtuous acts in former births.

II. Vinaya Pitaka. (Edited by Oldenberg.)

1. Vibhanga. Doctors Oldenberg and Rhys Davids consider it as only an extended reading of the Pâtimokkha, *i.e.*, as the Pâtimokkha with notes and commentary included. The Pâtimokkha is a formular of sins and their punishments recited every new moon and full moon day, and the members of the order who have committed any such sin are supposed to confess it and are disburdened of it. The Pâtimokkha is translated by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg.

2. Khandakas, *i.e.*, the Mahâvagga and the Chullavagga. Translated by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg.

3. Parivâra Pâtha, admittedly an appendix and a later resumé of the preceding portions of the Vinaya Pitaka.*

III. Abhidhamma Pitaka.

1. Dhamma Sangam. Conditions of life in different worlds. Edited for the Pâli Text Society.

* But compiled by the time of Asoka and carried to Ceylon by his son Mahinda according to the Dîpavansa VII, 42:—The works learnt and carried to Ceylon by Mahinda are thus described. The five Nikâyas (Sutta Pitaka), the seven sections (Abhidhamma), the two Vibhangas, the Parivâra and the Khandaka (Vinaya).

2. Vibhanga, 18 books of disquisitions.
3. Kathâ Vatthu, 1000 subjects for controversy.
4. Puggala Pannatti. On Personal Qualities.
5. Dhâtu Kathâ. On the elements.
6. Yamaka, *i.e.*, pairs, *i.e.* on apparent contradictions or contrasts.
7. Patthâna. On the causes of existence.

Such are the contents of the Three Pitakas which have preserved to us the most reliable materials that are available for the history of Buddha's life and work, and the history of Buddhist India. Although writing was known when the Three Pitakas were settled and compiled, yet for hundreds of years they were preserved solely by memory even as the Vedas in India were preserved by memory.

"The text of the Three Pitakas and the commentary too thereon.

"The wise Bhikkhus of former time had handed down by word of mouth."*

And it was in the first century before Christ, about 88 B. C., that the sacred works were at last recorded into writing as we have seen before.

It is well known that Gautama, disregarding the precedent set by all classical writers and thinkers in India, preached his doctrine and morality to the people of

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* Dipavansa XX, 20, 21.

India in the language of the people, not in Sanscrit. It is said in the Chullavagga (V, 33. 1), that "There were, two brothers, Bhikkhus, by name Yamelu and Tekula Brâhmans by birth, excelling in speech, excelling in pronunciation." And they went up to Gautama and said, "At the present time, Lord, Bhikkhus differing in name, differing in lineage, differing in birth, differing in family have gone forth. These corrupt the word of the Buddhas by their own dialect. Let us, Lord, put the word of the Buddhas into Sanscrit Verse (Chhandaso âropema)."

But Gautama would have none of this;—he worked for the humble and the lowly, his message was for the people, and he wished it to be conveyed to them in their own tongue. "You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put the word of the Buddhas into (Sanscrit) verse. * * I allow you O Bhikkhus to learn the word of the Buddhas *each in his own dialect*."

Generally we can apply to the Three Pitakas the remarks which Doctors Rhys Davids and Oldenberg make in respect of the Vinaya Pitaka. "The text, as it lies before us, stands so well against all proofs, whether we compare its different parts, one with another, or with the little that is yet known of its Northern counterparts, that we are justified in regarding these Pâli books as in fact the authentic mirror of the old Mâgadhî text as fixed in the central schools of the most ancient Buddhist Church. That text in the

dialect of Magadha may have been lost to us once for all; and we can scarcely hope, unless some isolated sentences may hereafter be found, preserved here and there in inscriptions, that this loss will ever be even partially made good. But we may well be thankful that the faithful zeal and industry of these old monks has preserved for us a translation, in a dialect so nearly allied to the original and in so perfect and trustworthy a state as the Pâli version of the Vinaya still undoubtedly presents."*

* Vinaya Texts, (translation), Part I, Introduction XXXVI.

CHAPTER XIV.

LIFE OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

IN the sixth century before Christ, the kingdom of Magadha was rising to power and greatness. The kingdom corresponding to modern South Behar, extended to the south of the Ganges, and on either side of the Son river. To the north of the Ganges it had a powerful rival in the haughty confederation of the Lichchavis. Râjagriha to the south of the Ganges was the capital of Bimbisâra king of the Magadhas, and Vaisâli to north of the Ganges was the capital of the Lichchavis. To the east lay the kingdom of Anga or East Behar, which is spoken of in connexion with Magadha, and Champâ was the capital of Anga. Far to the north-west lay the ancient kingdom of the Kosalas, and the capital had been removed from Ayodhya or Sâketa further northwards to the flourishing town of Srâvasti, where Prasenajit reigned at the time of which we are speaking. The equally ancient country of the Kâsîs lying to the south seemed to be at this time subject to the king of Srâvasti, and a viceroy of Prasenajit ruled at Benares.*

* The reader is referred to the map given in this volume, illustrating the life and work of Buddha.

A little to the east of the Kosala kingdom two kindred clans, the Sâkyas and the Koliyans, lived on the opposite banks of the small stream Rohinî, and enjoyed a sort of precarious independence, more through the jealousies of the rival kings of Magadha and Kosala than by their own power. Kapilavastu was the capital of the Sâkyas, who were then living in peace with the Koliyans, and Suddhodana, king of the Sâkyas had married two daughters of the king of the Koliyans.

Neither queen bore any child to Suddhodana for many years, and the hope of leaving an heir to the principality of the Sâkyas was well nigh abandoned. At last, however, the elder queen promised her husband an heir, and according to ancient custom left for her father's house in order to be confined. But before she reached the place she was confined in the pleasant grove of Lumbinî of a son. The mother and the child were carried back to Kapilavastu, where the former died seven days after, leaving the child to be nursed by his step-mother and maternal aunt, the younger queen.

The birth of Gautama is naturally the subject of many legends which have a most remarkale resemblance with the legends about the birth of Jesus Christ. One of them may be quoted here. The Rishi Asita saw the gods delighted, and

"Seeing the gods with pleased minds, delighted, and shewing his respect, he said this on that occasion: 'Why

is the assembly of the gods so exceedingly pleased, why do they take their clothes and wave them?

"The Bodhisatta, the excellent pearl, the incomparable is born for the good and for a blessing in the world of men, in the town of the Sâkyas in the country of Lumbinî. Therefore, we are glad and exceedingly pleased."

Having obtained this reply, the Rishi went to Suddhodana's palace and asked "where is this Prince, I wish to see him."

"Then the Sâkyas shewed to Asita the Child, the Prince, who was like shining gold, manufactured by a very skilful smith in the mouth of a forge, and beaming in glory and beautiful." And the Rishi foretold that the boy would reach the summit of enlightenment, and would establish righteousness, and that his religion would be widely spread. *Nâlaka Sutta.*

The boy was named Siddhârtha, but Gautama was his family name. He belonged to the Sâkya tribe, and is therefore often called Sâkya Sinha; and when he had proclaimed and preached a reformed religion, he was called Buddha or the "awakened" or "enlightened."

Little is known of the early life of young Gautama, except that he was married to his cousin Subhadhrâ or Yasodharâ, daughter of the king of Koli, about the age of eighteen. It is said that Gautama neglected the manly exercises which all Kshatriyas of his age delighted in, and that his relations complained of this. A day

was accordingly fixed for the trial of his skill, and the young prince of the Sâkyas proved his superiority to his kinsmen. It is not possible to decide what foundation this story has in truth.

Ten years after his marriage Gautama resolved to quit his home and his wife for the study of philosophy and religion. The story which is told of the young prince adandoning his home and his position is well known. He must have for a long time pondered deeply and sorrowfully on the sins and sufferings of humanity, he must have been struck with the vanity of wealth and position. In the midst of his prosperity, position, and wealth, he must have felt a secret yearning after something higher which neither wealth nor position could satisfy; and a strong irresistible desire to seek for a remedy for the sufferings of men must have arisen in his heart even in the midst of the luxuries and comforts of his palace-home. It is said that the sight of a decrepit old man, of a sick man, of a decaying corpse, and of a dignified hermit led him to form his resolution to quit his home. The story has little foundation in truth, and only represents in a concrete shape the thoughts that must have arisen in his mind with regard to the woes of a worldly life, and the holy calm of a retired life.

At this time a son was born unto him. It is said that the news was announced to him in a garden on the river side, and the pensive young man only ex-

claimed "This is a new and strong tie I shall have to break." The news gladdened the heart of the Sâkyas, and Kapilavasti resounded with notes of joy at the birth of an heir to the throne. A perfect ovation awaited Gautama on his return to that town, and among the deafening cheers which arose, Gautama heard a young girl say "Happy the father, happy the mother, happy the wife of such a son and husband." Gautama understood the word "happy" in the sense of "emancipated" from sins and new births, and he took off his necklace of pearls and sent it to the girl. The girl believed the young prince was enamoured of her, and little knew the thoughts which were struggling within him.

That night he repaired to the threshhold of his wife's chamber,—and there, by the light of the flickering lamp, he gazed on a scene of perfect bliss. His young wife lay surrounded by flowers, and with one hand on the infant's head. A yearning arose in his heart to take the babe in his arms for the last time before relinquishing all earthly bliss. But this he might not do. The mother might be awakened, and the importunities of the fond and loving soul might unnerve his heart and shake his resolution. Silently then he tore himself away from that blissful sight,—that nest of all his joy and love and affection. In that one eventful moment, in the silent darkness of that night, he renounced for ever his wealth and position and power, his proud rank and his prince-

ly fame, and more than all this, the affections of a happy home, the love of a young wife and of a tender infant now lying unconscious in sleep. He renounced all this, and rode away that night to become a poor student and a homeless wanderer. His faithful servant Channa asked to be allowed to stay with him and become an ascetic, but Gautama sent him back, and repaired alone to Râjagriha.

Râjagriha, as we have stated before, was the capital of Bimbisâra, king of the Magadhas, and was situated in a valley surrounded by five hills. Some Brâhman ascetics lived in the caves of these hills, sufficiently far from the town for studies and contemplation, and yet sufficiently near to obtain supplies. Gautama attached himself first to one Alâra, and then to another Udraka, and learnt from them all that Hindu philosophy had to teach.

Not satisfied with this learning Gautama wished to see if penances would bring superhuman insight and power as they were reputed to do. He retired therefore in to the jungles of Urùvelâ, near the site of the present temple of Buddha Gayâ, and for six years, attended by five disciples, he gave himself up to the severest penances and self-mortification. His fame spread all round, for the ignorant and the superstitious always admire self-inflicted pain; but Gautama did not obtain what he sought. At last one day he fell down from sheer weakness, and his disciples thought he was

dead. But he recovered, and despairing of deriving any profit from penance, he abandoned it. His disciples, who did not understand his object, lost all respect for him when he gave up his penances; they left him alone and went away to Benares.

Left alone in the world, Gautama wandered towards the banks of the Niranjarâ, received his morning meal from the hands of Sujâtâ, a villager's daughter, and sat himself down under the famous Bo-tree or the tree of wisdom. Many are the legends told of Mâra, the evil spirit, having tempted him on this occasion, legends which have a curious resemblance with the legends of the temptation of Jesus Christ; but we have no space to narrate them here. For a long time he sat in contemplation and the scenes of his past life came thronging into his mind. The learning he had acquired had produced no results, the penances he had undergone were vain, his disciples had left him alone in the world. Would he now return to his happy home, to the arms of his loving, widowed wife, to his little child now a sweet boy of six years, to his affectionate father and his loyal people? This was possible; but where would be the satisfaction? What would become of the mission to which he had devoted himself. Long he sat in contemplation and in doubt, until the doubts cleared away like mists in the morning and the daylight of Truth flashed before his eyes. What was this Truth which learning did not teach and penances did

not impart? He had made no new discovery, he had acquired no new knowledge, but his pious nature and his benevolent heart told him that a holy calm life and love towards others were the panacea to all evils. Self-culture and universal love,—this was his discovery,—this is the essence of Buddhism.

The conflict in Gautama's mind which thus subsided in calm is described in Buddhist writings by marvellous incidents. Clouds and darkness prevailed, the earth and oceans quaked, rivers flowed back to their sources, and peaks of lofty mountains rolled down. Dr. Rhys Davids justly states that these legends have a deep meaning and are "the first half-inarticulate efforts the Indian mind had made to describe the feelings of a strong man torn by contending passions." *

Gautama's old teacher Alâra was dead, and he went therefore to Benares to proclaim the truth to his five former disciples. On the way he met a man of the name of Upaka belonging to the Âjîvaka sect of ascetics, who, looking at the composed and happy expression on Gautama's face, asked, "Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. In whose name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? What doctrine do you profess. To this Gautama replied that he had no

* *Buddhism.*—Dr. Rhys Davids quotes a passage from Milton's Paradise Regained, describing a similar disturbance of the elements on the occasion of Christ's temptation.

teacher, that he had obtained Nirvâna by the extinction of all passions, and added, "I go to the city of the Kâsîs to beat the drum of the immortal in the darkness of the world." Upaka did not understand him and replied after a little conversation, "It may be so friend," shook his head, took another road and went away. *Mahâvagga*, I, 6.

At Benares Gautama entered the Deer Park (Migadâya) in the cool of the evening and met his former disciples. And he explained to them his new tenets.

"There are two extremes, O Bhikkhus which the man who has given up the world ought not to follow,—the habitual practice on the one hand of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions, and specially of sensuality, a low and pagan way, unworthy, unprofitable, and for only for the worldly minded;—and the habitual practice on the other hand of asceticism which is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable.

"There is a middle path, O Bhikkhus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathâgata (Buddha), a path which opens the eyes and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvâna!"

And then he explained to them the four truths concerning suffering, the cause of suffering, the destruction of suffering, and the way which leads to such destruction of suffering. And the way was described to be eight-fold, and consisted in correct beliefs, aims,

speech and actions, in correct living and endeavour, mindfulness and meditation.* And this doctrine, Gautama rightly said "was not, O Bhikkhus, among the doctrines handed down." "In Benares, in the hermitage of Migadâya, the Supreme Wheel of the Empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One,—that wheel which not by any Sâman or Brâhman, not by any god, not by any Brahmâ or Mâra, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back."—*Dhamma Chakka Ppavattana Sutta. Anguttara Nikâya.*

It is needless to say that the five former disciples were soon converted, and were the first members of the Order.

Yasa, son of the rich Sethi (banker) of Benares, was his first lay disciple, and the story of the conversion of this young man, nurtured in the lap of luxury and wealth, is worth repeating. "He had three palaces, one for winter, one for summer, one for the rainy season." One night he awoke from sleep and found the female musicians still sleeping in the room with their dress and hair and musical instruments in disorder. The young man who had apparently been satiated with a life of luxury, became disgusted with what he saw, and in a moment of deep thoughtfulness said: "Alas!

* We shall have to dwell hereafter on these four truths and the eightfold path which are the cardinal principles of Buddhism. The above extracts will shew that they were also the principles which Gautama proclaimed to the world at the very outset of his career.

what distress; alas! what danger!" And he left the house and went out.

It was dawn, and Gautama was walking up and down in the open air and heard the perplexed and sorrowful young man exclaiming, "Alas! what distress; alas! what danger!" The sage replied, "Here is no distress, Yasa, here is no danger. Come here, Yasa, sit down; I will teach you the Truth." And Yasa heard the Truth from the lips of the saintly Instructor.

Yasa's father and mother and wife missed him and they all came to Gautama and listened to the holy truth. Yasa became a personal follower of Gautama, the other three remained lay disciples.—*Mahâvagga I, 7 and* 8.

Within five months after his arrival at Benares Gautama had sixty followers. And now he called them together and dismissed them in different directions to preach the Truth for the salvation of mankind. "Go ye now, O Bhikkhus, and wander, for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, for the welfare of gods and men. *Let not two of you go the same way.* Preach, O Bhikkhus, the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious in the end, in the spirit, and in the letter; proclaim *a consummate, perfect and pure life of holiness.*" *Mahâvagga I,* 11, 1. No missionaries of later days

have evinced a holier zeal to proclaim the truth to the ends of the earth, than the followers of Gautama, acting on the sacred mandate quoted above. Gautama himself went to Uruvelâ, and Yasa remained in Benares.

At Uruvelâ, Gautama achieved distinguished success by converting three brothers named Kâsyapa, who worshipped fire in the Vedic form, and had high reputation as hermits and philosophers. The eldest brother Uruvelâ Kâsyapa and his pupils first "flung their hair, their braids, their provisions, and the things for the *agnihotra* sacrifice into the river," and received the Pabbâjja and Upasampadâ ordination from the Blessed One. His brothers who lived by the Nadî (River Niranjarâ) and at Gayâ soon followed the example.—*Mahâvagga I*, 15 *to* 20.

The conversion of the Kâsyapas created a sensation, and Gautama with his new disciples and a thousand followers walked towards Râjagriha, the capital of Magadha. News of the new prophet soon reached the king, and Seniya Bimbisâra, surrounded by numbers of Brâhmans and householders (Vaisyas), went to visit Gautama. Seeing the distinguished Uruvelâ Kâsyapa there, the king could not make out if that great Brâhman had converted Gautama, or if Gautama had converted the Brâhman. Gautama understood the king's perplexity, and in order to enlighten him, asked Kâsyapa. "What knowledge have you gained, O inhabitant of Uruvelâ, that has induced you, who were renowned for

your penances, to forsake your sacred fire." Kâsyapa replied that he had "seen the state of peace," and "took no more delight in sacrifices and offerings." The king was struck and pleased, and with his numerous attendants, declared himself an adherent of Gautama, and invited him to take his meal with him the next day.

The solitary wanderer accordingly went, an honored guest, to the palace of the king, and the entire population of the capital of Magadha turned out to see the great luminary of the religion of holiness and love who had suddenly appeared on the scene. The king then assigned a bamboo grove (Veluvana) close by, for the residence of Gautama and his followers, and there Gautama rested for some time. Shortly after Gautama obtained two renowned converts, Sâriputra and Moggallâna. *Mahâvagga I, 22 to 24.*

The daily life of Gautama has been well described by Dr. Oldenberg. "He, as well as his disciples, rises early, when the light of dawn appears in the sky, and spends the early moments in spiritual exercises or in converse with his disciples, and then he proceeds with his companions towards the town. In the days when his reputation stood at its highest point, and his name was named throughout India among the foremost names, one might day by day see that man before whom kings bowed themselves, alms-bowl in hand, through streets and alleys, from house to

house, and without uttering any request, with downcast look, stand silently waiting until a morsel of food was thrown into his bowl."

Such was the manner in which the greatest man of his age begged his food, day by day, from house to house, and preached his maxims of holiness and forgiveness to men and to women. For women were Gautama's listeners as well as men. "The seclusion of women from the outer world, which later custom has enjoined, was quite unheard of in ancient India; women took their share in the intellectual life of the people, and the most delicate and tenderest of the epic poems of the Indians shew us how well they could understand and appreciate true womanhood." *

The fame of Gautama had now travelled to his native town, and his old father expressed a desire to see him once before he died. Gautama accordingly went to Kapilavastu, but, according to custom, remained in the grove outside the town. His father and relations came to see him there; and the next day Gautama himself went into the town, begging alms from the people who once adored him as their beloved prince and master! The story goes on to say that the king rebuked Gautama for this act, but Gautama replied, it was the custom of his race. "But," retorted the

* Oldenberg's *Buddha*. (Translation). pp. 149 & 164.

king, "we are descended from an illustrious race of warriors, and not one of them has ever begged his bread." "You and your family," answered Gautama, "may claim descent from kings, my descent is from the prophets (Buddhas) of old."

The king took his son to the palace where all the members of the family came to greet him except his wife. The deserted Yasodharâ, with a wife's grief and a wife's pride, exclaimed, "If I am of any value in his eyes, he will himself come, I can welcome him better here." Gautama understood this and went to her with only two disciples with him. And when Yasodharâ saw her lord and prince enter,—a recluse with shaven head and yellow robes,—her heart failed her, she flung herself to the ground, held his feet, and burst into tears. Then, remembering the impassable gulf between them, she rose and stood aside. She listened to his new doctrines, and when, subsequently, Gautama was induced to establish an order of female mendicants,—Bhikkhunîs,—Yasodharâ became one of the first Buddhist nuns. At the time of which we are now speaking, Yasodharâ remained in her house, but Râhula, Gautama's son, was converted.

Gautama's father was much aggrieved at this, and asked Gautama to establish a rule that no one should in future be admitted to the order without his parents' consent. Gautama consented to this, and made a rule accordingly. *Jâtaka* 87—90. *Mahâvagga I*, 54.

On his way back to Râjagriha Gautama stopped for some time at Anupiyâ, "a town belonging to the Mallas." And while he was stopping here, he made many converts both from the Koliyan and from the Sâkya tribe some of whom deserve special mention. Anuruddha, the Sâkya, went to his mother and asked to be allowed to go into the houseless state. His mother did not know how to stop him and so told him "If, beloved Anuruddha, Bhaddya, the Sâkya Râja, will renounce the world, thou also mayest go forth into the houseless state."

Anuruddha accordingly went to Bhaddya, and it was decided that they would embrace the order in seven days. "So Bhaddya the Sâkya Râja, and Anuruddha and Ânanda, and Bhagu and Kimbila, and Devadatta, just as they had so often previously gone out to the pleasure ground with fourfold array, even so did they now go out with fourfold array, and Upâli the barber went with them, making seven in all.

"And when they had gone some distance, they sent their retinue back and crossed over to the neighbouring district, and took off their fine things, and wrapped them in their robes and made a bundle of them, and said to Upâli the barber, 'Do you now, Upâli, turn back. These things will be sufficient for you to live upon.'" But Upâli was of a different mind and so all the seven went to Gautama and became converts. And when Bhaddya had retired into solitude he exclaimed

over and over, "O happiness! O happiness!" and on being asked the cause said:

"Formerly, Lord, when I was a king, I had a guard completely provided both within and without my private apartments, both within and without the town, and within the (borders of my) country. Yet though, Lord, I was thus guarded and protected I was fearful, anxious, distrustful and alarmed. But now, Lord, even when in the forest, at the foot of a tree, in solitude, I am without fear or anxiety, trustful and not alarmed; I dwell at ease, subdued, secure, with mind as peaceful as an antelope." *Chullavagga VII*, 1.

It is necessary to add here that of these converts, Ânanda became the most intimate friend and companion of Gautama, and after his death led the band of 500 monks in chanting the Dharma in the Council of Râjagriha. Upâli, though a barber by birth, became an eminent member of the Order and his name is often mentioned in connexion with the Vinaya Pitaka. It is a striking proof how completely the caste system was ignored in the Order established by Gautama. Devadatta became subsequently the rival and opponent of Gautama, and is even said to have advised Ajâtasatru the prince of Magadha to kill his father Bimbisâra, and then attempted to kill Gautama himself, *Chullavagga VII*, 2 *to* 4. All the charges, however which are heaped on Devadatta, who was a rival of Gautama, should not be accepted. And, lastly, Anurud-

dha lived to become the greatest master of Buddhist metaphysics.

After spending his second *vassa* or rainy season in Râjagriha, Gautama repaired to Srâvasti, the capital of the Kosalas, where, as we have seen before, Prasenajit reigned as king. A wood called Jetavana was presented to the Buddhists, and Gautama often repaired and preached there. Gautama's instructions were always delivered orally, and preserved in the memory of the people, like all the ancient books of India, although writing was known at his time.*

The third *vassa* was also passed in Râjagriha, and in the fourth year (from the date of his proclaiming his creed) Gautama crossed the Ganges, went to Vaisâli and stopped in the Mahâvana grove. Thence he is said to have made a miraculous journey through the air to settle a dispute between the Sâkyas and the Koliyans about the water of the boundary river Rohinî. In the following year he again repaired to Kapilavastu, and was present at the death of his father then *ninety*-seven years old.

His widowed step-mother Prajâpati Gautamî, and his no less widowed wife Yasodharâ had now no ties to bind them to the world, and insisted on joining the Order

* "Brief written communications, brief written notifications, appear to have been common in India even at that time, (*i. e.*, Gautama Buddha's time): books were not written but learnt by rote and taught from memory." Oldenberg's *Buddha*, (Translation), p. 177.

established by Gautama. The sage had not yet admitted women to the Order, and was naturally most reluctant to do so. But his mother was inexorable and followed him to Vaisâli, and begged to be admitted.

Ânanda pleaded her cause, but Gautama still replied, "Enough Ânanda! Let it not please thee that women should be allowed to do so." But Ânanda persisted and asked,

"Are women, Lord, capable—when they have gone forth from the household life and entered the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Blessed One,—are they capable of realizing the fruit of conversion or of the second path, or of Arhatship?"

There could be only one reply to this. Honor to women has even been a part of religion in India, and salvation and heaven are not barred to the female sex by the Hindu religion. "They are capable, Ânanda," reluctantly replied the sage. And Prajâpati and the other ladies were admitted to the Order as Bhikkhunîs, under some rules making them strictly subordinate to the Bhikkhus. *Chullavagga X*, 1. After this Gautama retired to Kosambî near Prayâga.

In the sixth year after spending the rains at Kosambî Gautama returned to Râjagriha, and Kshemâ, the queen of Bimbisâra, was admitted to the Order. In the same year Gautama is said to have performed some

miracles at Srâvasti, and went to heaven to teach Dharma to his mother who had died seven days after his birth.

In the eleventh year Gautama converted the Brâhman Bhâradvâja by the parable of the sower which is so pretty that it deserves to be quoted.

Kâsî Bhâradvâja's five hundred ploughs were tied in the sowing season. He went to the place where his men were distributing food to the poor, and he saw Gautama standing there to get alms. On this he said :—

"I, O Sâman, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat; thou also, O Sâman, shouldst plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, thou shouldst eat."

"I also, O Brâhman, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat." So said Bhagavat.

"Yet we do not see the yoke or the plough, or the ploughshare, or the goad, or the oxen of the venerable Gautama."

Bhagavat answered,—"Faith is the seed, penance the rain, understanding my yoke and plough, modesty the pole of the plough, mind the tie, thoughtfulness my ploughshare and goad. * *

"Exertion is my beast of burden; carrying me to Nibbâna, he goes without turning back to the place where, having gone, one does not grieve."

The Brâhman was abashed and after further instructions joined the order.—*Sutta Nipâta, Kâsî Bhâradvâja Sutta.* *

In the next year he undertook the longest journey he had ever made, and went to Mantala and returned by Benares, and then preached the famous Mahâ Râhula Sutta to his son Râhula, then eighteen years old. Two years after, Râhula, being twenty, was formally admitted in the order, and the Râhula Sutta was preached.

In the following year, *i. e.*, in the fifteenth year from the date of his proclaiming his creed, he visited Kapilavastu again, and addressed a discourse to his cousin Mahânâma who had succeeded Bhadraka, the successor of Suddhodana, as the king of the Sâkyas. Gautama's father-in-law, Suprabuddha, king of Koli, publicly abused Gautama for deserting Yasodharâ, but is said to have been swallowed up by the earth shortly after.

In the seventeenth year he delivered a discourse on the death of Srîmatî, a courtezan; in the next year he comforted a weaver who had accidentally killed his daughter; in the following year he released a deer caught in a snare and converted the angry hunter who had wanted to shoot him; and in the twentieth year he similarly converted the famous robber Angulimâla of the Chaliya forest.

For twenty-five years more Gautama wandered through the Gangetic valley, preached piety and a holy

* Compare Gospel of St. John, V. 17.

life to the poor, the lowly and the misguided, made converts among the high and the low, the rich and the poor, and proclaimed his law through the length and breadth of the land. His pure life of benevolence and his pure religion of love were widely known and universally respected by his followers and the orthodox Hindus alike; nations and their kings honored the doctrines of the saintly reformer whose acts were those of kindness and benevolence; and when Gautama died in the advanced age of eighty, Buddhism was already a power in the land, which, not by any Sâman or Brâhman, "not by any god, not by any Brahmâ or Mâra, not by any one in the universe, could ever be turned back."

Gautama lived forty-five years from the date of his proclaiming his new religion; and accepting the year 477 B. C. as the year of his death, the main facts of his life may be thus arranged:—

Born near Kapilavastu	557 B. C.
His marriage with Yasodharâ ...	538 B. C.
He left his home, wife and infant ...	528 B. C.
He became enlightened at Buddha Gayâ—and proclaimed his religion at Benares ...	522 B. C.
He revisted his home	521 B. C.
His father Suddhodana died, and his stepmother and wife joined the Order... ...	517 B. C.
His son Râhula joined the Order ...	508 B. C.
Yasodharâ's father died	507 B. C.
Gautama died	477 B. C.

Happily we have a fairly complete account of the events immediately before his death in the *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta* in the *Dîgha Nikâya*, and to these facts we now turn.

Gautama was now eighty years of age, and the generation among whom he had worked in his youth had passed away. Most of those men whom he had known in his early days were dead, and the aged saint preached to sons and grandsons the same holy law which he had proclaimed to their sires and grandsires before. Many of his intimate friends were dead, but the faithful Ânanda still accompanied him like his shadow, and ministered to his wants. The old king of Râjagriha was no more; his warlike and ambitious son Ajâtasatru had ascended the throne of Magadha,—it is said by murdering his father,—and was now maturing schemes of conquest. It was no part of Ajâtasatru's policy to offend so popular and widely respected a person as Gautama, and outwardly at least, Ajâtasatru honored the reformer.

The powerful Vajjian clans who occupied the plains on the northern shores of the Ganges, opposite to Magadha, first attracted Ajâtasatru's attention. They were a Turanian tribe who had entered into India through the northern mountains and had established a republican form of government in the very centre of Hindu civilization and were threatening the conquest of all Magadha. They were probably the same Yu-chi

tribe* who conquered Kashmîra and Western India four or five centuries later, and became, under Kanishka, the most powerful supporters of Buddhism.

Ajâtasatru Videhiputra† said to himself, "I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin."

Gautama was then residing in the Vulture's Peak (Gridhrakûta), a cave on the side of the loftiest of the five hills overlooking the beautiful valley of Râjagriha. Ajâtasatru, who was not without some kind of superstitious faith in prophecies, sent his prime minister Vassakâra to Gautama to enquire how his expedition against the Vajjians would end. Gautama was no respector of kings, and replied that so long as the Vajjians remained united in their adherence to their ancient customs "we expect them not to decline, but to prosper."

From the Vulture's Peak Gautama wandered to neighbouring places,—to Ambalathikâ, to Nâlanda and to Pâtaligrâma, the site of the future capital of Magadha, Pâtaliputra. At the time of Gautama it was an insignificant grâma or village, but "Sunîdha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, were build-

* See Beal's *Buddhism in China*, p. 43. *Vajji-Yuchi.*

† This appellation shews that the king's mother was a lady of the ancient Videha tribe. Persons were frequently called in those days by their mothers' name; and Upatissa, the distinguished disciple of Gautama, was always better known as Sâriputra.

ing a fortress at Pâtaligâma to repel the Vajjians." Such was the origin of the town which became the capital of Chandragupta and Asoka, and was the metropolis of India for nearly a thousand years. Gautama is said to have prophesied the greatness of the place and said to Ânanda :

"And among famous places of residence and haunts of busy men, this will become the chief, the city of Pâtaliputra, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares." Modern readers who disbelieve in prophesies will argue from this that the Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, or at least this passage, was composed when Pâtaliputra had already become the busy capital of Magadha. Gautama is said to have also foretold that "three dangers will hang over Pâtaliputra, that of fire, that of water and that of dissension,"—a very safe prophecy to make about any riverside capital town in India!

Vassakâra and Sunîdha, the ministers of Ajâtasatru, invited Gautama there and fed him with "sweet dishes of boiled rice and cakes," and after this Gautama left the place, and is said to have crossed the Ganges which was then "brimful and overflowing", by a miracle,—passing over the water without a boat or a raft.

He then went to Kotigrâma, and then to Nâdika where he rested in "brickhall" which was a resting place for travellers. There Gautama taught Ânanda

the pregnant lesson that each disciple could ascertain for himself if he had attained salvation. If he was conscious, if he felt within himself, that he had faith in the Buddha, that he had faith in the Truth, that he had faith in the Order; then he was saved. Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha became the Trinity of the Buddhists.

From Nâdika, Gautama came to Vaisâli, the capital of the powerful confideracy of the Lichchavis to the north of the Ganges. Ambapâli, a courtezan, heard that the saint was stopping in her mango grove and came and invited him to a meal, and Gautama accepted the invitation.

"Now the Lichchavis of Vaisâli heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vaisâli and was staying at Ambapâli's grove. And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, they mounted one of them and proceeded with their train to Vaisâli. Some of them were dark, dark in colour and wearing dark clothes and ornaments; some of them were fair, fair in colour and wearing light clothes and ornaments; some of them were red, ruddy in colour and wearing red clothes and ornaments; some of them were white, pale in colour and wearing white clothes and ornaments.

"And Ambapâli drove against the young Lichchavis, axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke; and the Lichchavis said to Ambapâli the courtezan, How is it Ambapâli, that thou drivest up against us thus.

"My Lords, I have just invited the Blessed One and his brethren for their morrow's meal, said she.

"Ambapâli give us this meal for a hundred thousand, said they.

"My Lords, were you to offer all Vaisâli with its subject territory, I would not give up so honorable a feast.

"Then the Lichchavis cast up their hands exclaiming, 'we are outdone by this mango-girl,* we are outreached by this mango-girl,' and they went on to Ambapâlikâ's grove."

There they saw Gautama and invited him to a meal on the morrow, but Gautama replied, "O Lichchavis, I have promised to dine to-morrow with Ambapâli the courtezan." And Ambapâli fed Gautama and his brethren with "sweet rice and cakes" and "waited upon them till they refused any more." And then she was edified and instructed, and said, "Lord, I present this mansion to the order of mendicants, of which Buddha is the chief," and the gift was accepted.†

From Ambapâli's grove, Gautama went to Beluva. He felt his end approaching and said to the faithful

* *Ambapâlikâ* means the grower of mangoes.

† Bishop Bigandet says: "In recording the conversion of a courtezan like Apapâlika, her liberality and gifts to Buddha and his disciples, and the preference designedly given to her over princes and nobles, who, humanly speaking, seemed in every respect better entitled to attentions, one is almost reminded of the conversion of 'a woman that was a sinner, mentioned in the Gospels."—*Life or Legend of Gaudama.*

Ânanda, "I am now grown old and full of years, my journey is drawing to its close, I have reached the sum of my days, I am turning eighty years of age. * * Therefore, O Ânanda! be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the Truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the Truth."

In Châpâla Chetiya, Gautama delivered a discourse in which he enumerated four classes of men, *viz.*, the Nobles, the Brâhmans, the Householders and the Sâmans;—and four classes of angels, *viz.*, the Angels, the Great Thirty-three,* Mâra† and Brahmâ ‡

At Kûtâgâra Gautama once more proclaimed to his followers the substance and essence of his religion, and enjoined upon them to practise it, to meditate upon it, and to spread it abroad, "in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes."

Having paid his last visit to Vaisâli, Gautama then wandered through villages, Bhandagrâma, Hastigrâma, Ambagrâma, Jambugrâma, and Bhoganagara, and then went to Pâvâ. There, Chunda, a goldsmith and ironsmith,

* Vedic gods, reduced to the position of beneficent spirits.

† The tempter or evil spirit. "Mâra est le demon de l'amour, du péché et de la mort; ce la tentateur et l'ennemi de Buddha."—Burnouf.

‡ The Universal Being of the Upanishads reduced to the position of a beneficent spirit.

invited him to a meal, and gave him "sweet rice and cakes and a quantity of dried boar's flesh." Gautama never refused the poor man's offering, but the boar's flesh did not agree with him. "Now when the Blessed One had eaten the food prepared by Chunda, the worker in metal, there fell upon him a dire sickness, the disease of dysentery, and sharp pain came upon him even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and self-possessed, bore it without complaint."

On his way from Pâvâ to Kusinagara, Gautama converted a low caste man Pukkusa. At Kusinagara, eighty miles due east from Kapilavastu, (see map *ante*,) Gautama felt that his death was nigh. With that loving anxiety which had characterised all his life, he tried on the eve of his death to impress on his followers that Chunda was not to blame for the food he had supplied, but that the humble smith's act, kindly meant, would redound to length of life, to good birth and to good fortune.

It is said that just before his death the trees were in bloom out of season, and sprinkled flowers on him; that heavenly flowers and sandalwood powder descended on him, and that music and heavenly songs were wafted from the sky. But the great Apostle of holy life said, "It is not thus, Ânanda, that the Tathâgata (Buddha) is rightly honoured, reverenced, venerated, held sacred or revered. But the brother or the sister, the devout man or the devout woman, who continu-

ally fulfils all the greater and the lesser duties, who is correct in life, walking according to precepts,—it is he who rightly honours, reverences, venerates, holds sacred, and reveres the Tathâgata with the worthiest homage." Who is not reminded by these noble precepts of the holy precept in the Bible so happily rendered into verse by a Christian poet,—

"But thou hast said, the flesh of goat,
"The blood of ram, I would not prize,
"A contrite heart, an humble thought,
"Are my accepted sacrifice."

On the night of Gautama's death, Subhadra, a Brâhman philosopher of Kusinagara, came to ask some questions, but Ânanda, fearing that this might be wearisome to the dying sage, would not admit him. Gautama, however, had overheard their conversation, and he would not turn back a man who had come for instruction. He ordered the Brâhman to be admitted, and with his dying breath explain to him the Law and the Truth. Subhadra was the last disciple whom Gautama converted, and shortly after, at the last watch of the night, the great sage departed this life,—with the exhortation to his brother men still on his lips, "Decay is inherent in all component things, work out your salvation with diligence."

The body of Gautama was cremated by the Mallas of Kusinagara who surrounded his bones "in their council-hall with a lattice work of spears and with a

rampart of bows; and there, for seven days, they paid honour and reverence and respect and homage to them with dance and song and music, and with garlands and perfumes."

It is said that the remains of Gautama were divided into eight portions. Ajâtasatru of Magadha obtained one portion and erected a mound over it at Râjagriha. The Lichchavis of Vaisâli obtained another portion and erected a mound at that town. Similarly the Sâkyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Râmagrâma, the Mallas of Pâvâ, the Mallas of Kusinagara, and a Brâhman Vethadîpaka obtained portions of the relics and erected mounds over them. The Moriyans of Pipphalivana made a mound over the embers, and the Brâhman Dona made a mound over the vessel in which the body had been burnt.

This account of the division of relics is undoubtedly mythical, and was probably invented when Buddhists had adopted the custom of preserving relics, long after Gautama's death.

CHAPTER XV.

DOCTRINES OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

IT is not possible that we should within the limits of a single chapter give our readers anything like a complete summary of the doctrines of a religion which now forms the subject of so much elaborate and learned inquiry by so many distinguished and able scholars. Our attempt will rather be to give here the substance of that lesson and those ideas which Gautama preached and inculcated to his countrymen.

Buddhism is, in its essence, a system of self-culture and self-restraint. Doctrines and beliefs are of secondary importance in this system; the effort to end human suffering by living a holy life, free from passions and desires, is the cardinal idea with which Gautama was impressed on the day on which he was "enlightened" under the Bo-tree in Buddha Gayâ, and it was the central idea which he preached to the last day of his life.

When he went from Buddha Gayâ to Benares, and first preached his religion to his five old disciples, he explained to them the Four Truths and the Eightfold Path, which form the essence of Buddhism.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of Suffering.* Birth is suffering, decay is suffering, illness is suffering, death is suffering. Presence of objects we hate is suffering, not to obtain what we desire is suffering. Briefly, the fivefold clinging to existence (*i.e.*, clinging to the five elements) is suffering.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of the Cause of Suffering.* Thirst, that leads to re-birth accompanied by pleasure and lust, finding its delight here and there. (This thirst is threefold), *viz.*, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst for prosperity.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of the Cessation of Suffering.* It ceases with the complete cessation of thirst,—a cessation which consists in the absence of every passion, with the abandoning of this thirst, with the doing away with it, with the deliverance from it, with the destruction of desire.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of the Path* which leads to the cessation of suffering. That holy Eightfold Path, *viz.*—

Right Belief,
Right Aspiration,
Right Speech,
Right Conduct,
Right Means of Livelihood,
Right Exertion,
Right Mindfulness,
Right Meditation."—*Mahâvagga, I, 6.*

The substance of this teaching is that life is suffering, the thirst for life and its pleasures is the cause of suffering, the extinction of that thirst is the cessation of suffering, and that such extinction can be brought about by a holy life. It is impossible to convey in a few words all that is implied by the eight maxims into which a holy life has been analysed, but to Buddhists, trained in the traditions of the Law, these maxims speak volumes. Correct views and beliefs must be learnt and entertained; high aims and aspirations must always remain present before the mind's eye; truthfulness and gentleness must characterize every word that is uttered; uprightness and absolute integrity must mark the conduct. A livelihood must be saught and adhered to which does no harm to living and sentient things; there must be a lifelong perseverance in doing good, in acts of kindness, gentleness and beneficence; the mind, the intellect must be active and watchful; a calm and tranquil meditation shall fill the life with peace. This is the Eightfold Path for conquering desires and passions and thirst for life. A more beautiful picture of life was never conceived by poet or visionary; and a more perfect system of self-culture was never proclaimed by philosopher or saint.

The idea of self-culture was no doubt developed during the long course of meditation and practical good work in which Gautama passed his life. On the eve of his death he called together his brethren and ap-

pears to have recapitulated the entire system of self-culture under seven heads, and these are known as the Seven Jewels of the Buddhist Law.

"Which, then, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you; which when you have mastered, it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men?

"They are these:—

The four earnest meditations,
The fourfold great struggle against sin,
The four roads to saintship,
The five moral powers,
The five organs of spiritual sense,
The seven kinds of wisdom, and
The Noble Eightfold Path."—*Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, III*, 65.

Here, again, it is simply impossible to convey in a few words any adequate conception of all that is implied by these rules of discipline; a volume could be written on this most edifying subject.

The four earnest meditations alluded to are the meditations on the body, the sensations, the ideas, and the reason. The fourfold struggle against sin is the struggle to prevent sinfulness, the struggle to put away sinful

states which have arisen, the struggle to produce goodness, and the struggle to increase goodness. The fourfold struggle comprehends in fact a life-long, earnest, unceasing endeavour on the part of the sinner towards more and more of goodness and virtue. The fourfold roads to saintship are the four means,—the will, the exertion, the preparation, the investigation,—by which Iddhi is acquired. In later Buddhism Iddhi means supernatural powers, but what Gautama meant was probably the influence and power which the mind by long training and exercise can acquire over the body. The five moral powers, and the five organs of spiritual sense, are Faith, Energy, Thought, Contemplation, and Wisdom; and the seven kinds of wisdom are Energy, Thought, Contemplation, Investigation, Joy, Repose, Serenity. The Eightfold Path has already been described before.

It is by such prolonged self-culture, by the breaking of the ten fetters, doubt, sensuality, &c., that one can at last obtain NIRVANA.

"There is no suffering for him who has *finished his* journey, and abandoned grief, who has *freed himself* on all sides, and thrown up all fetters.

"They depart with their thoughts well collected, they are not happy within abode; like swans who have left their lake, they leave their house and home.

"Tranquil is his thought, tranquil are his word and deed, who has been freed by true knowledge,

who has become a tranquil man." *Dhammapada*, 90, 91, 96.

It was generally believed that "Nirvâna" implied final extinction or death; and Professor Max Müller was the first to point out, what most scholars have now accepted, that Nirvâna does not mean death, but only the extinction of that sinful condition of the mind, that thirst for life and its pleasures, which brings on new births. What Gautama meant by Nirvâna is attainable in life; it is what he attained in life; it is the sinless calm state of mind, the freedom from desires and passions, the perfect peace, goodness and wisdom, which continuous self-culture can procure for man. As Rhys Davids puts it, "the Buddhist heaven is not death, and it is not on death but on a virtuous life here and now, that the Pitakas lavish those terms of ecstatic description which they apply to Arhatship, the goal of the excellent way, and to Nirvâna as one aspect of it."

But is there no future bliss, no future heaven beyond "the virtuous life here and now" for those who have attained Nirvâna? This was a question which often puzzled Buddhists, and they often pressed their great Master for a categorical answer. Gautama was an agnostic,—and there never was an honester religious teacher born than Gautama. He would not inspire in his followers a false hope which he did not feel in his own heart,—and to all questions about a future life

after the attainment of Nirvâna, his consistent reply was, "I do not know. It is not given to me to know."

Malûkyaputta pressed this question on Gautama, and desired to know definitively if the perfect Buddha did or did not live beyond the death. Gautama inquired "Have I said, come, Malûkyaputta, and be my disciple; I shall teach thee whether the world is everlasting or not everlasting?" "That thou hast not said, sire," replied Malûkyaputta. "Then," said Gautama, "do not press the inquiry." Gautama taught the lessons which contributed to peace and enlightenment and holiness in this life, and invited his brother men to accept these great lessons without inquiring after the unknown. If a man, struck by a poisoned arrow, says to his physician, "I shall not allow my wound to be treated until I know who the man is by whom I have been wounded, whether he is a Kshatriya, Brâhman, a Vaisya or a Sûdra,"—what would be the end of him? He would die of his wound. And so would the man perish who did not strive after enlightenment and a holy life, because he did know what lay beyond. "Therefore, Malûkyaputta, whatsoever has not been revealed by me, let that remain unrevealed, and what has been revealed, let it be revealed." *Kûla-Malukya-Ovâda, Majjhima Nikâya.*

In the same manner we are told that King Prasenajit of Kosala, during a journey between his two chief towns, Sâketa and Srâvasti, fell in with the nun Khemâ,

renowned for her wisdom. The King paid his respects to her, and asked,—"Venerable lady, does the Perfect One exist after death?" She replied,—"The Exalted One, O great King, has not declared that the Perfect One exists after death." "Then does the Perfect One not exist after death, Venerable lady?" inquired the King. But Khemâ still replied—"This also, O great King, the Exalted One has not declared, that the Perfect One does not exist after death." *Samyutta Nikâya.*

These extracts will shew that Gautama's religion was a perfect and consistent agnosticism, which did not and could not look beyond the Nirvâna.* Gautama's aim was clear and well defined; he invited all men, by a strict self-culture, to end their sufferings, to avoid future states of suffering, to attain in this world to a state of holy bliss and perfect sinlessness, which is Nirvâna.

If a man does not attain to this state of Nirvâna in life, he is liable to future births. Gautama did not believe in the existence of a soul; but, nevertheless, the theory of transmigration of souls was too deeply implanted in the Hindu mind to be eradicated, and Gautama therefore adhered to the theory of transmigration without accepting the theory of soul! But if

* See the question fully and elaborately discussed by Dr. Oldenberg in his work on *Buddha, His life, His doctrine, His order.* The learned scholar has based his opinion on a careful examination of the entire body of the Buddhist canon.

there is no soul, what is it that undergoes transmigration? The reply is given in the Buddhist doctrine of KARMA.

The doctrine is, that "Karma," or the "doing" of a man cannot die, but must necessarily lead to its legitimate result. And when a living being dies, a new being is produced according to the Karma of the being that is dead. Thus, though the pious Buddhist does not believe in a soul, he believes that his state of life is determined by his Karma in a previous birth. And Buddhist writers are fond of comparing the relation of one life to the next, as that of the flame of a lamp to the flame of another lighted by it. And if the innocent man suffers in this world, he argues, "it is the result of my own work, why should I complain?" But wherein is the identity of the man who suffers with the man who is dead, if there is no soul? The Buddhist answers,—"In that which alone remains when a man dies and is dissolved into atoms—in his action, thought and speech, in his Karma which cannot die."

The reasoning seems to us like arguing in a circle,—but nevertheless there is one aspect of the theory the correctness of which will be admitted by modern social philosophers. The Buddhist believes, as well as the modern philosopher, that each generation is the heir to the consequences of the virtues and sins of the preceding generation, and that in this sense, a nation reaps as it sows. "The Buddhist saint does not mar the purity of his

self-denial by lusting after positive happiness which he himself shall enjoy hereafter. *His* consciousness will cease to feel, but his virtue will live and work out its full effect in the decrease of the sum of the misery of sentient beings."*

But the theory of transmigration was not the only doctrine which Gautama accepted from ancient Hinduism and adopted in a modified form into his own religion. The whole of the Hindu Pantheon of the day was similarly accepted, and similarly modified to suit his cardinal idea, the supreme efficacy of a Holy Life. The thirty-three gods of the Rig Veda were recognized,—but they were not supreme. Brahmâ, the Supreme Deity of the Upanishads, was recognized, but was not supreme. Holy Life alone was supreme; they who had attained the Nirvâna or perfect bliss by holy life,—the Buddhas,—were supreme, higher than the 33 gods, higher than the angel hosts, higher than Brahmâ. Never was there such a daring attempt made by man to elevate holiness and purity above the supernatural and the celestial; to raise goodness,—attainable by man,—above the gods and the unknown powers of the universe!

In a passage to which we have already referred in the previous chapter, four kinds of celestial or supernatural beings are named, Brahmâ, the thirty-three gods, angels

* Rhys David's *Buddhism*, p. 104.

and Mâra, or the evil one. Except Mâra all the rest are regarded as a kind of fairies, generally beneficent, but more or less ignorant. They are not eternal (being liable, like men, to dissolution), and not entitled to worship; they are all subject to repeated births, and can only obtain the salvation of Nirvâna by walking along the Eightfold Path. Brahmâ himself is no exception to the rule; he knows the superior greatness of Buddha, he assisted at his birth, induced him to proclaim the truth when he had discovered it under the Bo-tree, and gave utterance to the universal sorrow on Buddha's death. In a legend about an anterior birth of Gautama as a great king, we are told that Sakra (Indra) directed Visvakarman to build a palace for that king, and Visvakarman vanished from the heaven of the Great Thirty-three (gods), and appeared before the king to build the palace. *Mahâsudassana Sutta, I*, 67, 68.

It is necessary, however, to remark that it is doubtful whether Gautama himself adopted such stories, or even recognized the Hindu Pantheon. It is not impossible that the Devas and Gandharvas and Brahmâ lingered in the traditional language of the people who had adopted Buddhism. Gautama was probably indifferent towards such popular beliefs; his whole mind and heart were devoted to preaching a Holy Life.

Similarly the popular beliefs about heaven and hell, were passively adopted without ever attaining to much

importance in Gautama's religion. We are told in one place that "evil-doers go to hell, righteous people go to heaven; those who are free from all worldly desires attain Nirvâna."—*Dhammapada*, 126. And in another place Gautama is said to have given an account of different hells,* and backbiters are sent to the very worst hell, Paduma. It is doubtful whether Gautama ever troubled himself about these categories of hells and heavens; they probably grew from popular beliefs.

Gautama respected a Brâhman as he respected a Buddhist Srâman or Arhat; but he respected him for his virtue and learning, not for his caste, which he in his soul ignored. When two Brâhman youths, Vasishtha and Bhâradvâja, began to quarrel on the question, "How does one become a Brâhman?" and came to Gautama for his opinion, Gautama delivered to them a discourse in which he emphatically ignored caste, and held that a man's distinguishing mark was his work, not his birth. The grass and the trees, he said, the worms, moths and ants, the quadrupeds, snakes, fishes and birds are all divided into species which are known by their distinguishing marks. Man, too, has his distinguishing mark, and that is his profession.

"For whoever amongst men lives by cow-keeping, know this, O Vasishtha, he is a husbandman, not a Brâhman.

* Abbuda, Nirabbuda, Ababa, Ahaha, Atata, Kumuda, Sugandhika, Uppalika, Pundarika, and Paduma.

"And whoever amongst men lives by different mechanical arts * * is an artizan, not a Brâhman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by trade * * is a merchant, not a Brâhman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by serving others * * is a servant, not a Brâhman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by theft * * is a thief, not a Brâhman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by archery * * is a soldier, not a Brâhman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by performing household ceremonials * * is a sacrificer, not a Brâhman.

"And whoever amongst men possesses villages * * is a king, not a Brâhman.

"And I do not call one a Brâhman on account of his birth, or of his origin from a particular mother,—he may be called Bhupati, and he may be wealthy,—but the one who is possessed of nothing and seizes upon nothing, him I call a Brâhman. * *

"The man who is free from anger, endowed with holy works, virtuous, without desire, subdued, and wearing his last body, him I call a Brâhman.

"The man who like water on a lotus leaf, or a mustard seed on the point of a needle, does not cling to sensual pleasures, him I call a Brâhman." *Vâsettha Sutta.*

Similarly in the Assalâyana Sutta of the Majjhima Nikâya we are told that a distinguished Brâhman

scholar, Assalâyana, came to controvert Gautama's opinion that all castes were equally pure. Gautama, who could meet a logician with his own weapons, asked if the wives of Brâhmans were not subject to all the disabilities of childbirth like other women. "Yes," replied Assalâyana. Were there not differences in colour among the people of adjacent countries like Bactria and Afganstan, asked Gautama, and yet could not slaves become masters, and masters slaves, in those countries? "Yes," replied Assalâyana. Then, asked Gautama, if a Brâhman "is a murderer, a thief, a libertine, a liar, a slanderer, violent or frivolous in speech, covetous, malevolent, given to false doctrine," will he not after death be born to misery and woe, like any other caste? "Yes," said Assalâyana, and it was also admitted that good works would lead to heaven irrespective of caste. Gautama proceeded further to argue that when a mare was united with an ass, the offspring was a mule, but the offspring of a Kshatriya united to a Brâhman resembled its parents, and the obvious conclusion, therefore, was that there was really no difference between a Brâhman and a Kshatriya! By such arguments Gautama drove the truth home to the young logician's mind, and he "sat there silent, awkward, distressed, looking downwards, reflecting, not able to answer,"—and then became a disciple of Gautama.

Elsewhere Gautama said of himself, to Bhâradvâja, living by the Sundarikâ river, "No Brâhman am *I*,

nor a king's son, nor any Vaisya; having thoroughly observed the class of common people, I wander about the world. * * Do not ask about descent, but ask about conduct." *Sundarikâ Bhâradvâja Sutta.*

At another time Gautama explained to his followers, "As the great streams, O disciples, however many they may be, the Gangâ, Yamunâ, Asirâvatî, Sarabhû and Mahî, when they reach the great ocean lose their old name and their old descent, and bear only one name,—the great ocean,"—so also do Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sûdras lose their distinctions when they join the Order. And we know that this theory was consistently carried out in practice, and Upâli, a barber, as we have seen before, joined the Order and became one of the most revered and learned of Buddhist monks. A touching story is also told in the *Theragâthâ* which enables us to comprehend how Buddhism came like a salvation to the humble and the lowly in India, and how they eagerly embraced it as a refuge from caste-injustice. Sunîta the Thera or Elder says, "I have come of a humble family, I was poor and needy. The work which I performed was lowly,—sweeping the withered flowers. I was despised of men, looked down upon and lightly esteemed. With submissive mien I shewed respect to many. Then I beheld Buddha with his band of monks as he passed, the great hero, into the most important town of Magadha. Then I cast away my burden and ran to bow myself in reverence before him.

From pity for me he halted, that highest among men. Then I bowed myself at the Master's feet, stepped up to him and begged him, the highest among all beings, to accept me as a monk. Then said unto me the gracious Master—'Come hither, O monk'—that was the initiation I received." And the passage concludes with the lesson which Gautama had so often preached, "By holy zeal and chaste living, by restraint and self-repression, thereby a man becomes a Brâhman: that is the highest Brâhmanhood."

Who can read this touching story of humble Sunîta's conversion without realizing the loving spirit of equality which was the soul of early Buddhism, and which ensured its success? The great Master who regarded nor wealth, nor rank, nor caste, came to the poor and the despised as well as to the rich and the noble, and welcomed them to effect their own salvation by a pure life and unstained conduct. A virtuous life opened the path to the highest honour to the low-born and the high-born alike,—no other distinction was known or recognized in the Order. Thousands of men and women responded to this loving and rational appeal, and merged their caste inequalities in a common love for their Master and a common emulation of his virtues. And within three centuries from the date when Gautama proclaimed his message of equality and of love in Benares, the religion of equality and of love was the prevailing religion of India. Caste was

unknown within the Order, and lost its sting among laymen outside the Order; for it was open to the lowest born among them to embrace the Order and thus win the highest honour.

393. "A man does not become a Brâhman by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brâhman.

394. "What is the use of platted hair, O fool! What of the raiment of goat skins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside thou makest clean.*

422. "Him I call, indeed, a Brâhman, the manly, the noble, the hero, the great sage, the conqueror, the impassible, the accomplished, the awakened.

141. "Not nakedness, not platted hair, not dirt, not fasting or lying on earth, nor rubbing with dust, nor sitting motionless, can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires."† *Dhammapada.*

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* Compare Mathew XXIII, 27, Luke XI, 39.

† Professor Max Müller has the following interesting note to the above verse:—

"Walking naked and the other things mentioned in our verse, are outward signs of saintly life, and these Buddha rejects because they do not calm the passions. Nakedness he seems to have rejected on other grounds if we may judge from Sumâgadhâ Avadâna. A number of naked friars were assembled in the house of the daughter of Anâtha Pindika. She called her daughter-in-law Sumâgadhâ, and said, 'Go and see those highly respectable persons.' Sumâgadhâ expecting to see some of the saints like Sâriputra, Maudgalâyana, and others, ran out full of joy.

Accordingly, from the very commencement of his religious career, he expressed his pronounced disapprobation of the *two extremes:*

"A life given to pleasures, devoted to pleasures, and lusts; this is degrading, sensual, vulgar, ignoble and profitless; and a life given to mortifications; this is painful, ignoble and profitless." *Mahâvagga*, I, 6, 17. The *middle path* is one of holy purity and calm sinless contemplation, and this is Gautama's Eightfold Path to salvation.

But Gautama not only expressed his pronounced disapprobation against the Hindu caste-system, and the ascetic practices sanctioned by Hinduism, he also exclaimed against the Vedic rites which were practised according to the injunctions of the Brâhmanas and the Sûtras. And the reasons are not far to seek. Gautama was not a thoughtless destroyer, nor a heedless and enthusiastic opponent of all that was orthodox and ancient. He did not raise his hand against a single ancient institution or belief which he did not consider positively mischievous, and a later corruption of the old religion. He denounced caste because he found it mischievous, and believed it to be a late and corrupted form of ancient Brâhmanism.

But when she saw these friars, with their hair like pigeon-wings covered by nothing but dirt, offensive, and looking like demons, she became sad. 'Why are you sad?' said her mother-in-law. Sumâgadhâ replied, 'O mother, if these are saints, what must sinners be like?'"

He denounced asceticism because he found it harmful and misleading. And he proclaimed the fruitlessness of Vedic rites, because he found them, as then practised, to be silly, meaningless, dead forms, attended with needless cruelty to animals and loss of life.

It is possible to conceive that the utter lifelessness of these forms had something to do in first awakening the earnest mind of Gautama to a higher need. Did these forms and rites lead to any good? Did they improve the human heart, regulate the human conduct, alleviate human suffering? If not, are there no means to secure these objects, the only legitimate objects of Religion? And when after long and fruitless penances, and long and fruitful contemplation, he did discover a system which would improve the human heart, alleviate human suffering, and regulate human conduct, he naturally proclaimed the uselessness of the rites and ceremonies which the people then called Religion.

A sinless, passionless state of the mind, a freedom from all desires of the senses, this is what Gautama aimed at; religious rites did not secure this end, retirement from the world and contemplation helped it.

"Having left son and wife, father and mother, wealth and corn and relatives, the different objects of desire, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros.

"This is a tie, in this there is little happiness, little enjoyment, but more of pain; this is a fish hook, so

having understood, let a thoughtful man wander alone like a rhinoceros.

"Having torn the ties, having broken the net as a fish in the water, like a fire not returning to the burnt place, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros." *Khagga Visâna Sutta.*

And this brings us to the subject of retirement from the world, to that institution which, outwardly at least, most distinguishes Buddhism from Hinduism, *viz.*, the Buddhist Monastic life.

It is a mistake to suppose that Gautama positively enjoined on all men to retire from the world and live the life of a recluse, of a Bhikkhu or a Bhikkhunî, *i.e.*, a Buddhist monk or nun. To conquer the yearning thirst for life and its pleasures was the cardinal aim of the reformer, and he assigned no peculiar virtue to an outward act of renouncement of the world. But, nevertheless, as it is difficult to conquer that thirst so long as one is actually living in the midst of his family and enjoying the pleasures of life, Gautama recommended the life of a Bhikkhu as the more efficacious means for securing the great end. And so thousands retired from the world and became Bhikkhus, and thus the Buddhist Monastic system was formed.

But even now when the Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunîs have come to be regarded as the Priesthood of the Buddhists, there is no such line of demarkation as obtains in the Hindu world. Any lay disciple who

desires to do so, may become a Bhikkhu by joining the fraternity, and any Bhikkhu who wishes to return to the world may leave the fraternity. Bhikkhus are supposed to live a holier life and claim superior wisdom, learning and sanctity; but to the present day the original idea of Gautama so far rules his followers, that the Bhikkhus living in Vihâras or monasteries all over the Buddhist world are not priests in the ordinary sense of the word; they are not intercessors between the laymen and their gods; they are no more than travellers on the same road towards Nirvâna, by which the householders and laymen are also supposed to be travelling.

The peculiar rules relating to the Holy Order will be detailed in another chapter, as they do not come in among the essential doctrines of Gautama's religion. We will only quote here a beautiful Sûtra, giving a supposed conversation between Gautama and a herdsman relating to the comparative virtues of worldly security and religious bliss.

"I have boiled my rice, I have milked my cows"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"I am living together with my fellows near the banks of the Mahî river. My house is covered, the fire is kindled: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

2. "I am free from anger, free from stubbornness,"—so said Bhagavat,—"I am abiding for one night near the banks of the Mahî river. My house is uncovered

the fire (of passions) is extinguished: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

3. "Gad flies are not to be found with me,"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"in meadows abounding with grass the cows are roaming, and they can endure the rain when it comes: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

4. "By me is made a well-constructed raft,"—so said Bhagavat,—"I have passed over (to Nirvâna). I have reached the further bank, having overcome the torrent (of passions); there is no further use for a raft: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

5. "My wife is obedient, not wanton,"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"for a long time she has been living together with me. She is winning, and I hear nothing wicked of her: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

6. "My mind is obedient and freed,"—so said Bhagavat,—"it has for a long time been highly cultivated and well subdued. There is no longer anything wicked in me: therefore, if thou like rain, O Sky!"

7. "I support myself by my own earnings,"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"and my children are about me healthy. I hear nothing wicked of them: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

8. "I am no one's servant,"—so said Bhagavat,—"with what I have gained, I wander about in all the world. There is no need for me to serve: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

9. "I have cows, I have calves,"—so said Dhaniya,—"I have cows in calf and heifers. And I have also a bull as lord over the cows: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

10. "I have no cows; I have no calves"—so said Bhagavat,—"I have no cows in calf and no heifers. And I have no bull as a lord over the cows: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

11. "The stakes are driven in, and cannot be shaken,"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"the ropes are made of munga grass, new and well made, the cows will not be able to break them. therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

12. "Having, like a bull, rent the bonds; having, like an elephant, broken through the galuchchhi creeper, I shall not again enter into a womb: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

Then at once a shower poured down, filling both sea and land. Hearing the sky raining, Dhaniya spoke thus:—

13. "No small gain indeed to us, since we have seen Bhagavat. We take refuge in thee, O thou endowed with the eye of wisdom! Be thou our master, O great Muni!" *Dhaniyasutta.* *

We have already said before that Gautama denied the existence of a soul. Man is supposed in the Bud-

* Compare the parable in St. Luke XII, 16.

dhist philosophy to consist of an assemblage of *skandhas* or aggregates. These *skandhas* are :—

(1) The material properties like the elements, the organs of sense, &c.

(2) Sensations divided into six classes, according as they are received through the six senses, including the mind.

(3) The abstract ideas belonging to six classes of sensations.

(4) Tendencies of the mind, divided into fifty-two divisions : Thought, Reflection, Memory, Effort, Pity, Envy, Pride, &c.

(5) Reason.

As the body is continuously changing, all its component parts are changing also, and man is never the same for two moments.

The denial of a soul is repeated throughout all Buddhist works, and this was a part of Gautama's own teachings. In the *Brahmajâla Sutta* of the *Dîgha Nikâya* Gautama is supposed to discuss sixty-two different kinds of wrong belief, among which the belief that the soul and the world are eternal is a principal one. "Mendicants," concludes this sermon, "that which binds the Teacher (Buddha) to existence is cut off; but his body still remains. While his body shall remain, he will be seen by gods and men, but after the termination of life, upon the dissolution of the body, neither gods nor men will see him." "Would it

be possible," asks Dr. Rhys Davids, "in a more complete and categorical way, to deny that there is any soul, any entity, of any kind, which continues to exist, in any manner after death?"

The same writer quotes a passage from an ancient Ceylonese work giving a series of conversations between the Greek king Menander of Sagala in the Punjab and Nâgârjuna or Nâgasena, the founder of the Madhyamika school of northern Buddhism.

Nâgasena—"Did your majesty come here on foot or in a chariot?"

King—"In a chariot."

Nâgasena—"What is a chariot? Is the ornamental cover the chariot? Are the wheels, the spokes of the wheel, or the reins, the chariot? Are all these parts together (in a heap) the chariot? If you leave these out, does there remain anything which is the chariot?"

King—"No."

Nâgasena—"Then I see no chariot, it is only a sound, a name. In saying that you came in a chariot, you have uttered an untruth. I appeal to the nobles, and ask them if it be proper that the great king of all Jambudvîpa (India) should utter an untruth."

King—"No untruth have I uttered, venerable monk. The cover, wheels, seat, and other parts all united form the chariot. They are the usual signs by which that which is called a chariot is known."

Nâgasena—"And just so in the case of a man." And he quoted the words of the Teacher where he had said, "As the various parts of the chariot form, when united, the chariot, so the five *skandhas*, when united in one body, form a being, a living existence." *

Such is the Buddhist philosophy about the *skandhas* and the non-existence of the soul, which arose out of Gautama's teachings. It should be remembered however that the philosophy is of a later date than Gautama, and that the Reformer, though well versed in Hindu philosophy, discouraged philosophical discussions as useless for the great object he had in view. "When Mâlunka asked the Buddha whether the existence of the world is eternal or not eternal, he made no reply; but the reason of this was that it was considered by the Teacher as an enquiry that tended to no profit." † And we are repeatedly told in the *Sutta Nipâta* that one should not give himself up to philosophical disputations which lead to no good.

"Those wishing for dispute, having plunged into the assembly, brand each other as fools mutually; they go to others and pick a quarrel, wishing for praise, and calling themselves expert. * *

"These disputes have arisen amongst the Sâmans; in these disputes there is dealt blow and stroke; having seen this, let him leave off disputing, for there is no

* Rhys David's *Buddhism*, p. 97.

† Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 375. See *ante*, p. 236.

other advantage in trying to get praise." *Pasûra Sutta. Sutta Nipâta.*

"The opinions that have arisen amongst people, all these the wise man does not embrace; he is independent. * *

"A dogmatist is no leader to purity, being guided by prejudiced views, saying that good consists in what he is given to." *Mahâniyûha Sutta. Sutta Nipâta.*

These are the leading doctrines of Gautama's religion, and a brief recapitulation of them will probably interest our readers. We have explained that Buddhism is in its essence a system of self-culture, an effort towards a holy life on this earth, and nothing more. We have seen that Gautama considered life to be suffering, the thirst after life to be the cause of suffering, the conquering of that thirst to be the cessation of suffering, and the Eightfold Path of self-culture to be the means of conquering the thirst after life. Placing a holy life and sinless peace as the ideal of his religion and as the highest aim of human destiny, Gautama carefully elaborated the system of self-culture, the method of self-restraint in thought, word and speech, which he called the Noble Eightfold Path, or which is known as the Seven Jewels of his Law.

And that holy peace, that sinless, tranquil life which is the object of so much self-restraint and self-culture, is attainable in this earth; it is the Buddhist's heaven, it is Nirvâna. Gautama's religion offers no glowing

rewards in a world to come; virtue is its own reward; a virtuous life is the Buddhist's final aim; a virtuous peace on earth is the Buddhist's Nirvâna.

We have seen that Gautama nevertheless adopted the Hindu idea of transmigration in a modified form into his own religion. If Nirvâna is not attained in life, the Karma or actions of a living being lead to their legitimate results in re-births, until the discipline is complete and Nirvâna is attained. Gautama ignored the soul, but could not shake off the belief in transmigration, which was firmly implanted in the Hindu mind in his day.

In the same manner Gautama adopted, or permitted the adoption of, the popular beliefs of the day about the 33 gods of the Rig Veda, about Brahmâ, about Gandharvas and angels, heaven and hell. But all this belief was modified so as to suit the cardinal idea of Buddhism that a holy life was the supreme good; and gods, like men, were striving through repeated births after that Nirvâna which was the Buddhist's salvation.

But there were doctrines and customs of Hinduism which he could not accept. The caste system he eschewed, asceticism and penances he disapproved, the Vedic religious rites he declared to be fruitless. In place of such rites, he enjoined a benevolent life and the conquest of all passions and desires; and he recommended a retirement from the world as the most efficacious means for securing this end. The recom-

mendation was followed, and led to the Buddhist monastic system,—the earliest monastic fraternity known in the world.

And, lastly, we have seen that, although Gautama himself disapproved of philosophical discussion, a system of Buddhist philosophy soon arose on the lines laid down by him; that it ignored the existence of soul, and maintained living creatures to be only assemblages of *Skandhas*, or aggregates.

The great distinguishing feature of Buddhism then is that it is a training towards a virtuous and holy life on this earth, and takes little thought of rewards and punishments in a future world. It appeals to the most disinterested feelings in man's nature, sets before him virtue as its own reward, and enjoins a life-long endeavour towards its attainment. It knows of no higher aim among gods or men than the attainment of a tranquil, sinless life; it speaks of no other salvation than virtuous peace, it knows of no other heaven than holiness.

It swept away from the field of its vision the whole of the great soul-theory which had hitherto so completely filled and dominated the minds of the superstitious and of the thoughtful alike. For the first time in the history of the world, it proclaimed a salvation which each man could gain for himself, and by himself, in this world, during this life, without any, the least reference to God or to gods, either great or small." * It

* Rhys Davids. Hibbert Lectures, 1881.

discards all the tempting pictures of joys and pleasures in heaven by which other religions lead men to virtuous deeds, it offers no glowing temptations, no imaginary rewards, it makes no appeal to man's selfish nature. Holding out no prospects of everlasting happiness, promising no happy heaven of gladness or bliss, Buddhism silently and sternly points to the path of virtue, and directs men to strive after a holy life, because holiness is its own reward and its own heaven. Herein Buddhism stands alone among the great religions of the world.

On the other hand, this very feature of Buddhism is the subject of charges frequently brought against the religion. It is urged, and rightly urged, that it is an agnostic religion, that it knows of no God, no soul, no future world for those who have attained salvation. Dr. Rhys Davids points out however that agnostic philosophy has come, not once or twice, but repeatedly to the forefront, when theology has failed to offer satisfactory replies to inquiries after the unknown, and men have sought for new solutions to old questions. "It is their place in the progress of thought that helps us to understand how it is that there is so much in common between the agnostic philosopher of India, the stoics of Greece and Rome, and some of the newest schools in France, in Germany and among ourselves." *

* *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 145.

But what was it that the agnostic Buddhists worshipped? What was the concrete form which Gautama's religion took in the early age of which we are speaking, before vast monasteries and an unwieldy priesthood replaced the primitive faith? What was the actual form of worship which drew and engaged the multitude who could not all have appreciated or worshipped the abstract idea of a holy life? The reply is simple. For centuries the people worshipped holiness and virtue *as typified in the life of Gautama.* They revered the memories of the Great Teacher, they worshipped his invisible presence. The sculptures at Sanchi, at Amarâvatî, at Bharhut and other places, represent homage paid to tree, to serpent, to the wheel, or to the umbrella; but in every case the object represents the presence or religion of Buddha. It was a worship "paid to the invisible presence of the Teacher, or to the power supposed to reside in his teaching (the wheel). It is a worship of association or of memory. The spots rendered famous by Buddha's presence during his life-time are consecrated in the mind of his disciple to sacred recollection, and worship is offered on those spots to the invisible object of faith."* Thus early Buddhism was the worship of holiness as typified in Buddha, and of his holy invisible presence.

* Beal's *Buddhism in China*, p. 100.

CHAPTER XVI.

MORAL PRECEPTS OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

A RELIGION, the great aim of which is the teaching of holy living in this world, must necessarily be rich in moral precepts, and such precepts are the peculiar beauty of Buddhism for which the religion is still held in honour all over the civilized world. It will be our pleasant task in this chapter to glean some of these graceful precepts which will give our readers some idea of the essence of Gautama's moral teachings.

Gautama prescribed for lay disciples five prohibitory rules or Commandments, which were, no doubt, suggested by Vasishtha's five *Mahâpâtakas* enumerated before, in chapter VII of this Book, (page 103).

18. "A householder's work, I will also tell you, how a Sâvaka is to act to be a good one; for that complete Bhikkhu Dhamma cannot be carried out by one who is taken up by worldly occupations.

19. "Let him not kill or cause to be killed any living being, nor let him approve of others killing, after having refrained from hurting all creatures, both those that are strong and those that tremble in the world.

20. "Then let the Sâvaka abstain from taking anything in any place that has not been given to him, knowing it to belong to another, let him not cause any one to take, nor approve of those that take. Let him avoid all theft.

21. "Let the wise man avoid an unchaste life as a burning heap of coals; not being able to live a life of chastity, let him not transgress with another man's wife.

22. "Let no one speak falsely to another in the hall of justice, or in the hall of the assembly; let him not cause any one to speak falsely, nor approve of those that speak falsely. Let him avoid all untruth.

23. "Let the householder, who approves of this Dhamma, not give himself to intoxicating drinks; let him not cause others to drink, nor approve of those that drink, knowing it to end in madness."—*Dhâmmika Sutta, Sutta Nipâta.*

These five precepts which are known as the Five Commandments, or the five rules of conduct (Pancha Sîla), are binding on all Buddhists, laymen and Bhikkhus. They are recapitulated thus:—

25. "Let not one kill any living being.

"Let not one take what is not given to him.

"Let not one speak falsely.

"Let not one drink intoxicating drinks.

"Let not one have unchaste sexual intercourse."

Ibid.

Three other rules are laid down which are not considered obligatory, but which are recommended to pious lay disciples. They are

25, 26. "Let him not at night eat untimely food.
"Let him not wear wreaths or use perfumes.
"Let him lie on a bed spread on the earth."
Ibid.

The pious householder is recommended to take a vow of all these eight precepts, which are known as the Eight Commandments, or the eight rules of conduct, (Ashtânga Sîla).

To these eight rules two more are added, and they are: To abstain from dancing, music, singing and stage plays; and To abstain from the use of gold and silver. These Ten Commandments (Dasa Sîla) are binding on Bhikkhus, as the Five Commandments are binding on all laymen and Bhikkhus.

To honor one's father and mother, though not included in the Commandments, is enjoined in the same Sutta on all householders.

"Let him dutifully maintain his parents, and practise an honorable trade. The householder who observes this strenuously goes to the gods Sayampabhas (*Sanscrit* Svayambhû).

Buddhists had a weekly sabbath which was determined by the days of the moon. These Uposatha (*Sanscrit* Upavâsa) days were four in the lunar month, *viz.*, when the moon was full or new, or half way

between the two; and abstinence and the special observance of the moral precepts were enjoined on those days. The reader will perceive that the idea was taken from the Vedic Darsapûrnamâsa ceremony which was held at the full moon and the new moon.

Again certain fortnights (Pâtihâraka Pakkha) were set apart for the special and rigid observance of the moral precepts. And on the expiry of the Uposathas and Pâtihâraka Pakkhas, the householder was recommended with a believing mind to "make distributions according to his ability."—*Dhâmmika Sutta*, 28.

A more exhaustive category of the duties of the householder is given in the well-known *Sigâlovâda Sutta*, common both to the Northern and the Southern Buddhists, and which has been more than once translated into European languages. The enumeration of the duties gives us so clear an insight into the state of Hindu society and into the ideal of Hindu social life, that we feel no hesitation in quoting it.

1. *Parents and Children.*

Parents should—

1. Restrain their children from vice.
2. Train them in virtue.
3. Have them taught in arts or sciences.
4. Provide them with suitable wives or husbands.
5. Give them their inheritance.

The child should say—

1. I will support them who supported me.

2. I will perform family duties incumbent on them.
3. I will guard their property.
4. I will make myself worthy to be their heir.
5. When they are gone, I will honour their memory.

2. *Pupils and Teachers.*

The pupil should honour his teachers—

1. By rising in their presence.
2. By ministering to them.
3. By obeying them.
4. By supplying their wants.
5. By attention to instruction.

The teacher should shew his affection to his pupils—

1. By training them in all that is good.
2. By teaching them to hold knowledge fast.
3. By instruction in science and lore.
4. By speaking well of them to their friends and companions.
5. By guarding them from danger.

3. *Husband and Wife.*

The husband should cherish his wife—

1. By treating her with respect.
2. By treating her with kindness.
3. By being faithful to her.
4. By causing her to be honored by others.
5. By giving her suitable ornaments and clothes.

The wife should shew her affection for her husband—

1. She orders her household aright.
2. She is hospitable to kinsmen and friends.

3. She is a chaste wife.
4. She is a thrifty housekeeper.
5. She shews skill and diligence in all she has to do.

4. *Friends and Companions.*

The honorable man should minister to his friends—

1. By giving presents.
2. By courteous speech.
3. By promoting their interest.
4. By treating them as his equals.
5. By sharing with them his prosperity.

They should shew their attention to him—

1. By watching over him when he is off his guard.
2. By guarding his property when he is careless.
3. By offering him a refuge in danger.
4. By adhering to him in misfortune.
5. By shewing kindness to his family.

5. *Masters and Servants.*

The master should provide for the welfare of his dependants—

1. By apportioning work to them according to their strength.
2. By supplying suitable food and wages.
3. By tending them in sickness.
4. By sharing with them unusual delicacies.
5. By now and then granting them holidays.

They should shew their attachment to him as follows:—

1. They rise before him.
2. They retire later to rest.

3. They are content with what is given them.
4. They work cheerfully and thoroughly.
5. They speak well of him.

6. *Laymen and those devoted to religion.*

The honorable man ministers to Bhikkhus and Brâhmans—

1. By affection in act.
2. By affection in words.
3. By affection on thoughts.
4. By giving them a ready welcome.
5. By supplying their temporal wants.

They should shew their affection to him—

1. By dissuading him from vice.
2. By exhorting him to virtue.
3. By feeling kindly towards him.
4. By instructing him in religion.
5. By clearing up his doubts.
6. By pointing the way to heaven.

The legend is that Gautama saw Sigâla, the householder, bowing to the four quarters of the heaven, and to the zenith and the nadir, to avert evils from these six directions. Gautama told him that the best way to avert evils from the six quarters was to perform good deeds towards his fellow-men, and so proclaimed the six categories of duties enumerated above. Sigâla was converted and became a lay-disciple.

What glimpses of pure Hindu life, of pleasant domestic and social feelings and duties, do we obtain from the

above categories! The anxious care of parents to give children education and moral teaching and earthly comforts; the dutiful desire of children to support and respect their parents and honor their memory when dead; the respectful behaviour of the pupil towards the teacher, and the teacher's anxious care and affection for the pupil; the respect, the kindness, the honorable and affectionate treatment which the Hindu religion has ever enjoined on husbands towards their wives, and the faithfulness and scrupulous attention towards domestic duties for which Hindu wives have always been known; the kindly relations between friends and friends, between masters and servants, between laymen and spiritual instructors: these are among the noblest lessons that the Hindu religion has taught, and these are among the noblest traditions which Hindu literature has handed down for thousands of years. Buddhism accepted this noble heritage from the ancient Hindus, and embalmed it in its sacred literature. In Gautama's categories of duties we find all that is noblest and best in the Dharma Sûtras, and we do not find the moral precepts disfigured by those caste distinctions which we so much deplore in Hindu literature and religion.

We turn now from Gautama's categories of duties to those precepts and benevolent maxims to which Buddhism mainly owes its deserved fame in the modern world. Gautama's religion was a religion of

benevolence and love; and five centuries before Jesus Christ was born, the Hindu Teacher had declared,

5. "Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time, hatred ceases by love: this is its nature."

197. "Let us live happily, not hating those who hate us. Among men who hate us, let us live free from hatred."

223. "Let one overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good. Let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth."—*Dhammapada.*

Parables were told to impress this great lesson on the followers of the meek and gentle Gautama, and we will tell one of these stories as briefly as we can. Trying to heal contentions and differences among his followers, Gautama said:

"In former times, O Bhikkhus, there lived at Benares a king of the Kâsîs, Brahmadatta by name, wealthy, rich in treasures, rich in revenues, and rich in troops and vehicles, the lord over a great realm with full treasuries and storehouses. And there was also a king of the Kosalas, Dîghîti by name, not wealthy, poor in treasures, poor in revenues, poor in troops and vehicles, the lord over a small realm, with empty treasuries and storehouses."

As often happens the rich king robbed the weak one of his realm and treasures, and Dîghîti with his queen fled to Benares, and dwelt there in a potter's house in the guise of an ascetic. There the exiled queen gave

birth to a child who was called Dîghâvu, and in course of time the boy reached his years of discretion.

In the meantime king Brahmadatta heard that his former rival was living in the town in disguise with his wife, and he ordered them to be brought before them and had them cruelly executed.

Their son Dîghâvu was then living outside Benares, but happened to come to the town at the time of his father's execution. The dying king looked at his son, and with more than human forgiveness left his last injunctions on his son. "*Not by hatred, my dear Dîghâvu, is hatred appeased. By love, my dear Dîghavu, hatred is appeased.*"

"And young Dîghâvu, O Bhikkhus! went to the forest, there he cried and wept to his heart's content." He then returned to the town, after having formed his resolutions, and took employment under an elephant trainer in the royal stables.

Early in the dawn he arose and sang in a beautiful voice and played upon the lute. And the voice was so beautiful that the king inquired who it was that had risen so early and had sung in the elephant stables in so beautiful a voice. And the young boy was taken to the king, pleased him, and was employed as his attendant.

And it so happened that on one occasion the king went out to hunt, taking young Dîghâvu with him. Dîghâvu's secret resentment was burning within him

and he so drove the royal chariot, that the hosts went one way, and the king's chariot went another way.

At last the king felt tired and lay down, laying his head on the lap of young Dîghâvu, and as he was tired, he fell asleep in a moment.

"And young Dîghâvu thought, O Bhikkhus, 'this king Brahmadatta, of Kâsî, has done much harm to us. By him we have been robbed of our troops and vehicles, our realm, our treasuries, and storehouses. And he has killed my father and mother. Now the time has come to me to satisfy my hatred'—and he unsheathed his sword."

But with the recollection of his father, the last words of his dying parent came to the recollection of the vengeful prince, "*Not by hatred, my dear Dîghâvu, is hatred appeased; by love, my dear Dîghâvu, hatred is appeased.*" "It would not become me to transgress my father's word," said the prince, and he put up his sword.

The king dreamt a frightful dream and arose terrified and alarmed. Dîghâvu told him the whole truth. The king was astonished, and exclaimed, "Grant me my life, my dear Dîghâvu!" Grant me my life, my dear Dîghâvu!' The noble young prince forgave his father's murder in carrying out his father's injunction, and granted Brahmadatta his life. And Brahmadatta gave him back his father's troops and vehicles, his realm, his treasuries and storehouses, and he gave him his daughter.

"Now, O Bhikkhus, if such is the forbearance and mildness of kings who wield the sceptre and bear the sword, so much more, O Bhikkhus, must you so let your light shine before the world, that you, having embraced the religious life according to so well-taught a doctrine and a discipline, are seen to be forbearing and mild." *Mahâvagga X*, 2.

But not only forbearance and mildness, but the virtue of good acts is repeatedly and impressively enjoined by Gautama on his followers.

51. "Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without scent, are the fine and fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly.*

183. "Not to commit sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind, this is the teaching of the Buddhas.

200. "In like manner his good works receive him who has done good and has gone from this world to the other—as kinsmen receive a friend on his return.

260. "A man is not an elder, because his head is grey. His age may be ripe, but he is called old in vain.

261. "He in whom there is truth, virtue, love, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise, he is called an elder."—*Dhammapada.*

And Gautama told the parable of Mâtanga, the Chandâla, who reached the highest fame, mounted the

* Compare Matthew, XXIII, 3.

vehicle of gods, and went to the Brahma world by good deeds. Therefore,

"Not by birth does one become an outcast, not by birth does one become a Brâhman. By deeds one becomes an outcast, by deeds one becomes a Brâhman." *Vasala Sutta, Sutta Nipâta, 27.*

And again in the *Âmagandha Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipâta*, Gautama explains to a Brâhman, Kâsyapa by name, that destroying life, killing, cutting, binding, stealing, lying, fraud and adultery, backbiting, treachery and cruelty, intoxication, deceit and pride, and a bad mind and wicked deeds are what defile a man. Neither abstinence from fish or flesh, nor nakedness, nor tonsure, nor matted hair, nor dirt, nor rough garment, nor sacrifices to the fire, nor penances, nor hymns, nor oblations, nor sacrifices can purify him.*

The whole of the *Dhammapada* is a string of 423 moral precepts which for their beauty and moral worth will compare with any similar collection of precepts made in any age or country. And a good-sized volume might be compiled from the legends and parables and precepts and holy maxims which are interspersed throughout the Buddhist sacred scriptures. We will close this chapter with only a few more extracts.

129. "All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death. Remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.

* Compare Matthew XV, 10.

130. "All men tremble at punishment, all men love life. Remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill nor cause slaughter."*

252. "The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of oneself is difficult to perceive; a man winnows his neighbour's faults like chaff, but his own fault he hides, as a cheat hides the bad die from the gambler."† *Dhammapada.*

"This is called progress in the discipline of the Noble One, if one sees his sin in its sinfulness, and duly makes amends for it, and refrains from it in future." *Mahâvagga*, IX, 1, 9.

"Thus he lives as a binder together of those who are divided, an encourager of those who are friends, a peace-maker, a lover of peace, impassioned for peace, a speaker of works that make for peace." *Tevijja Sutta*, II, 5.

Who is not struck by the remarkable coincidence of these noble precepts with those preached five hundred years after in Palestine by the gentle and pure-souled Jesus Christ? But the relations between Buddhist and Christian ethics and moral precepts will be discussed in a future chapter.

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* Compare Luke VI, 31.

† Compare Matthew, VII, 3.

CHAPTER XVII.

BUDDHIST MONASTIC ORDER.

IT has already been stated that Buddhist Bhikkhus were not priests in the ordinary sense of the term. They were merely a portion of the Buddhist population who renounced the world and lived a life of chastity and strict discipline, because by so doing they hoped to conquer all passions and desires, and attain sooner to that holy and sinless state of tranquility which is the Buddhist's salvation. It was with this idea that Gautama encouraged his earnest followers to join the Holy Order, though he at the same time respected those who remained householders and lay disciples.

A layman, desiring to be a Bhikkhu, was to be at least eight years old before he was accepted as a novice, and he was to be twenty before receiving full initiation. He had to state that he was free from leprosy, boils, consumption, and fits; that he was a free man and free from debts, and that he was not in the royal service, and had received his parent's consent. He was introduced by his proposer to the *Sangha*, or assemblage of Bhikkhus; and he expressed his wishes three times in the following words: "I ask the Sangha, reverend Sirs, for the Upasampadâ ceremony. Might the Sangha,

reverend Sirs, draw me out of the world out of compassion towards me." And the proposer proposed the resolution, (*natti* from Sanscrit *jnâpti ?*) that he might be accepted. The proposition was repeated three times and was carried, the proposer saying, "N. N. has received the Upasampadâ ordination from the Sangha with N. N. as Upâdhyâya. The Sangha is in favour of it, therefore it is silent. This I understand."—*Mahâvagga*, I, 76.

The person elected then appeared clad as a Bhikkhu, and repeated three times the two formulas. The first speaks of the Three Refuges, which are the Buddhist's Trinity :—

"I go for refuge to the Buddha.
"I go for refuge to the Law.
"I go for refuge to the Holy Order."

The second speaks of the Ten Precepts or Commandments (see *ante*, p. 263) :—

"I take the vow not to destroy life.
"I take the vow not to steal.
"I take the vow to abstain from impurity.
"I take the vow not to lie.
"I take the vow to abstain from intoxicating drinks which hinder progress and virtue.
"I take the vow not to eat at forbidden times.
"I take the vow to abstain from dancing, singing, music, and stage plays.

"I take the vow not to use garlands, scents, unguents or ornaments.

"I take the vow not to use a high or broad bed.

"I take the vow not to receive gold or silver." *Mahâvagga*, I, 12 & 56.

This was the ceremony for the novice; and when a novice applied for full initiation, a similar proceeding had to be gone through again. He was proposed again, he had to declare himself free from disqualifications, and he asked the Sangha for admission. The resolution to accept him was then formally put, and no one objecting, was carried in silence.

We have in the previous chapter quoted some verses from the *Dhâmmika Sutta* in which Gautama laid down the duties of householders and laymen. We will now quote some verses from the same *Sutta* in which the duties of Bhikkhus have been described.

10. "Listen to me, O Bhikkhus, I will teach you the Dhamma that destroys sin; do ye keep it, all of you. Let him who looks for what is salutary,—the thoughtful,—cultivate the mode of life suitable for Pabbajitas.

11. "Let not the Bhikkhu walk about at a wrong time, let him go to the village for alms at the right time; for ties ensnare the one that goes at a wrong time; therefore Buddhas do not go at a wrong time.

12. "Form, sound, taste, smell, and touch, which in-

toxicate creatures,—having subdued the desire for these things, let him in due time go in for his breakfast.

13. "And let the Bhikkhu, after having obtained his food at the right time and returned, sit down alone and privately; reflecting within himself, let him not turn his mind to outward things, but be self-collected.

14. "If he speak with a disciple, or with any one else, or with a Bhikkhu, let him talk about the excellent Dhamma. Let him not utter slander, nor blaming words against others.

15. "Some prepare themselves for controversy.* We do not praise these narrow-minded persons. Ties from here and there ensnare them, and they send their mind far into the dispute.

16. "Let a disciple of Buddha, after having the Dhamma taught by Buddha, discriminately seek for food, a monastery, a bed, and a seat, and water for washing his clothes.

17. "But without clinging to these things,—to food, to bed, seat, clean robes and water,—let a Bhikkhu be like a water-drop on a lotus."

We have seen before that Gautama himself considered retirement to be most conducive to a life of contemplation. As the number of his followers

* *Vâdam hi eke patiseniyanti.* This verse shews that Gautama did not encourage philosophical discussions, and called men engaged in such controversies "narrow-minded."

increased, they dwelt together in gardens and groves, whence they issued to towns for begging their daily food. We have seen that Gautama first proclaimed his religion at Mrigadâva, or the Deer Park in Benares, and obtained his first following there; and that when he came to Râjagriha, he lived with his followers at Yashtivana, which was at some distance from the town. But the King Bimbisâra was so pleased with Gautama that he made a gift of a bamboo grove, the Veluvana, which was nearer the town and therefore better suited for Gautama's work. Very soon the piety of laymen provided them with suitable and commodious houses, —*Vihâras* or Monasteries,—for the residence of the Bhikkhus. Thus we find (*Chullavagga*, VI, 1, 4) that the Setthi or banker of Râjagriha built no less than sixty dwelling places, and made a gift of them "to the use of the Sangha of the four directions, whether present or to come." And thenceforward the Buddhist monks lived in such Vihâras. The number of such Vihâras multiplied in every town and province in India with the spread of Buddhism, and we shall see further on that when the Chinese travellers, Fa Hian and Houen Tsang, came to India, they saw hundreds of Vihâras in the great capitals of Hindu kingdoms.

It must not be supposed, however, that solitary life in forests was abandoned altogether. On the contrary, while the mass of the Bhikkhus crowded to Vihâras, solitary hermits retired to forests and to caves. In

Chullavagga, VI, 1, 2, we find a description of the different kinds of residences which were in use at the time of the composition of the work, *i.e.*, in the fourth century, B. C. "I allow you, O Bhikkhus, abodes of five kinds, —Vihâras, Addhayogas, Storied Dwellings, Attics, Caves."* Elsewhere we are told "The religious life has dwelling at the foot of a tree for its resource. Thus you must endeavour to live all your life. Vihâras, Addhayogas, Storied Dwellings, Attics, Caves are extra allowances." *Mahâvagga*, I, 30, 4. The earliest rock-cut caves that we find in India belong to this period, and were excavated by Buddhists for the purposes of retirement and contemplation. Such caves of the time of Asoka, and of the centuries preceding Asoka, are found all over India; and thus Buddhism gave the first start to sculpture on an extensive scale in India. Vihâras or Monasteries, and Chaityas or Churches, were excavated from solid rocks and multiplied all over the country. Thus India owes her most gigantic and wonderful works of architecture in stone to the Buddhist religion. But of this we will speak in a separate chapter.

The minute and elaborate regulations, contained in the *Mahâvagga* and the *Chullavagga*, relating to

* Vihâra, Addhayoga, Pâsâda, Hammiyam, Guhâ. Buddhaghosha explains Addhayoga to be a gold colored Bengal house; a Pâsâda to be a long storied mansion; and Hammiyam to be a Pâsâda with an upper chamber on the topmost storey.

the construction of Vihâras and to the life of monks down to the smallest detail, need not occupy us here. The monks dressed themselves in robes of a dull orange colour, begged their food from neighbouring towns and villages, shaved themselves and eschewed all ornaments, trinkets, and flowers, slept on the ground, and led a life of chastity and comparative hardship. Poverty was enjoined on all Bhikkhus, but there was no objection,—as we have seen in Gautama's life,—to accepting gifts of land or houses for the Sangha or fraternity. Such gifts multiplied as the religion spread over the country. Costly Vihâras and Chaityas were built, and broad acres were possessed in every province, and the Buddhist church in India, in the fifth and sixth centuries, A. D., must have rivalled the Roman Catholic Church of Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries, in property and wealth.

The most interesting event in the monotonous lives of the Bhikkhus was the fortnightly ceremony known as the Pâtimokkha (*Sanscrit* Pratimoksha) or Disburdenment of sins. We know that the Vedic worshippers performed the ancient Darsapûrnamâsa ceremony at the full moon and the new moon. Gautama modified this ceremony to a most useful and noble purpose, and Bhikkhus, made use of these sacred days to confess the sins they had committed, and take upon themselves the penances prescribed. It was when Gautama, after first proclaiming his religion at Benares,

returned to Râjagriha that he laid down the first rules of Confession and Disburdenment, and these rules,—no doubt afterwards elaborated,—have come down to us as the Pâtimokkha. And thus these rules have been repeated at formal meetings, and pious Buddhists have been called upon to confess their sins, twice in each month, during the last twenty-four centuries!

The introduction to the Pâtimokkha runs thus:—"May the Sangha, reverend Sirs, hear me! To-day is the sacred day (of the full or new moon), the fifteenth day of the half-month. If it be convenient to the Sangha, let the Sangha hold Uposatha, let it repeat the Pâtimokkha. * * Let the reverend brethren announce their purity, and I will rehearse the Pâtimokkha. * * Whosoever have incurred a fault, let him declare it! If no fault have been incurred, it is meet to keep silence! * *."

And then the rules were recited, classifying the different kinds of sins and naming the penance for each. Sexual intercourse, Theft, Murder, and False Pretentions required expulsion. Thirteen kinds of sin, like attempting to entice women, bringing a false charge, creating dissensions in the Order, &c., required formal meetings of the Order and the prescribed penance. These rules are followed by two on undetermined cases. Thirty minor offences,—against the communistic customs of the ancient

fraternity,—required forfeiture. Other offences, ninety-two in number, called for repentance, and this list includes telling a lie, slandering a Bhikkhu, destroying vegetable life, drinking fermented liquors, drinking water with living things in it, journeying with a woman, giving a blow or using threatening gesture, and making luxurious beds or using clothes beyond the proper size. Great eagerness to obtain food is classed under four petty offences which required a confession; and this is followed by seventy-five rules, enjoining decorous behaviour at all times.

In conclusion, the reciter summed up the different classes of rules, adding—

"So much (of the words) of the Blessed One, handed down in the Suttas, comes into recitation every half-month. It behoveth all to train themselves according thereto, in concord, in pleasantness, without dispute."

In spite of this pious wish, however,—repeated every fortnight,—disputes and differences of opinion did often arise in the Order, and elaborate rules are laid down in the fourth Khandhaka of the *Chullavagga* for the settlement of such disputes. The most curious portions of these rules are the provisions about the reference of disputed points to a *Jury*, and about deciding cases by the *Vote of the Majority*.

"I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to settle such a dispute by the vote of the majority. A Bhikkhu who shall be possessed of five qualifications shall be appointed

as taker of the voting tickets;—one who does not walk in partiality, one who does not walk in malice, one who does not walk in folly, one who does not walk in fear, one who knows what votes have been taken, and what have not been taken." IV, 9.

"I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, three ways of taking votes. * * The secret method, the whispering method, and the open method.

"And how, O Bhikkhus, is the secret method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu, who is the teller of votes, is to make the voting tickets of different colours, and as each Bhikkhu comes up to him, he is to say to him thus: 'This is the ticket for the man of such an opinion. This the ticket for the man of such an opinion. Take whichever you like.' * *

"And how, O Bhikkhus, is the whispering method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu, who is the teller of the votes, is to whisper in each Bhikkhu's ear: 'This is the ticket of those of such an opinion. This is the ticket of those of such an opinion. Take whichever you like.' * *

"And how, O Bhikkhus, is the open method of taking votes? If he ascertains that those whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma are in the majority, the vote is to be taken undisguisedly, openly." IV, 14, 26.

"If, O Bhikkhus, whilst the case is being enquired into by those Bhikkhus, pointless speeches are brought

forth, and the sense of any single utterance is not clear, I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to settle the case by referring it to a jury. And a Bhikkhu to be chosen on a jury must be possessed of ten qualities, *i.e.*, he must be virtuous, upright, living according to rules, versed in the traditions," &c., &c. IV, 14, 19.

"A legal question arising out of offence (*i.e.*, criminal case) is settled by three modes of settlement,—to wit, by the Proceeding in presence, and by the Proceeding on confession of guilt, and by the Proceeding by covering over, as with grass." IV, 14, 30.

"A legal question arising out of business (*i.e.*, civil case) is settled by one mode of settlement only—to wit, by the Proceeding in presence." IV. 14, 34.

Such was the earliest form of judicial procedure adopted by the Buddhist Monastic Order.

We have spoken before of the bi-monthly ceremony of Pâtimokkha which was observed by all assemblies of Bhikkhus. The great annual event was the Vassa (*Sanscrit* Varshâ), or the rainy season practices. The origin of these practices was that in India travelling about the country on foot was next to impossible in the rainy season, and Bhikkhus, therefore, had to suspend their wanderings and remain shut up in their Vihâras for the three months of the rains.

"I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you enter upon Vassa in the rainy season." *Mahâvagga*, III, 2, 2.

"They are to look after their Vihâra, to provide food

and water for themselves, to fulfil all due ceremonies, such as, paying reverence to sacred shrines, &c., and to say loudly, once or twice or thrice, 'I enter upon Vassa in this Vihâra for these three months? Thus they are to enter upon Vassa."*

And when the three months of Vassa expired, every Bhikkhu invited his companions to tell him if they believed him guilty of an offence, having seen the offence, or having heard of it, or having suspected it. *Mahâvagga*, IV, *I*, 13. This ceremony was called the Pavâranâ, and it was an annual self-questioning and examination in respect of offences and sins committed, as the Pâtimokkha was a fortnightly examination. Such were the regulations laid down by the Apostle of a pure life to cleanse out every failing and vice that human flesh is heir to.†

* *Buddhagosha*, quoted by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, *Part* I, p. 299.

† It does not directly concern us to learn how the *Vassa* (or *Was* as it is called) is kept by Buddhists at the present day. But nevertheless, the present forms of institutions, established twenty-four centuries ago, must always be interesting, and Dr. Rhys Davids has given so excellent an account of the *Was*, as now kept in Ceylon, that we feel no hesitation in quoting the passage:—

"The custom has survived down to the present day in southern countries, but in a form, which is a curious instance of the way in which the letter of such religious ordinances can be observed, and turned to real use, long after the reason of their original institution has ceased to operate. The wandering mendicants have become settled, celibate, parochial clergy; but every year during those months, which were the

One can easily understand that a reformer, who was so deeply conscious of the weaknesses of human nature, and who tried so persistently to conquer those weaknesses in his followers by constant self-discipline,

rainy season in Magadha in the time of Gautama, they leave their permanent homes; and living in temporary huts, put up by the peasantry of some districts, who specially invite them, hold a series of public services, in which they read and explain the Pâli Pitakas to all of any age or sex or caste who choose to listen. This period called *Was* (from the Sanscrit *Varsha*, rain) is in Ceylon the finest part of the year; and as there are no regular religious services at any other time, the peasantry celebrate the reading of *bana* (or the word) at *Was* time as their great religious festival. They put up under the palm trees a platform, roofed, but quite open at the sides, and ornamented with bright cloths and flowers; and round it they sit in the moonlight on the ground, and listen through the night with great satisfaction, if not with great intelligence, to the sacred words, repeated by relays of shaven monks. The greatest favorite at these readings of *bana* is the Jâtaka book, which contains so much of the old fables, stories common to the Aryan peoples. * * To these wonderful stories the simple peasantry, dressed in their best and brightest, listen all the night long with unaffected delight; chatting pleasantly now and again with their neighbours, and indulging all the while in the mild narcotic of the betel leaf, their stores of which (and of its never-failing adjuncts chunam, *i. e.*, white lime and the areka nut), afford a constant occasion for acts of polite good-fellowship. The first spirit of Buddhism may have passed away as completely as the old reason for *Was*; neither hearers nor preachers may have that deep sense of evil in the world and in themselves, nor that high resolve to battle with and overcome it which animated some of the early Buddhists; and they all think themselves to be earning merit by their easy service. But there is, at least at these festivals, a genuine feeling of human kindness, in harmony alike with the teachings of Gautama and with the gentle beauty of those moonlight scenes."—*Buddhism*, pp. 57, 58.

was naturally reluctant to admit women into the Holy Order, or to allow them to live in the same Vihâras. In the end, however, he had to yield to importunities, and allowed women to embrace the Order as Bhikkhunîs, on certain conditions. They were :—

(1) That Bhikkhunîs should make salutations to and bow down before all Bhikkhus.

(2) That Bhikkhunîs should not spend the Vassa in places where there were no Bhikkhus.

(3) That every half-month Bhikkhunîs should ascertain from Bhikkhus the dates of the Uposatha ceremony, and the time of the Exhortation.

(4) That Bhikkhunîs should hold the Pavâranâ before both the Sanghas, *i. e.*, of Bhikkhus and of Bhikkhunîs.

(5) That Bhikkhunîs, guilty of offences, should undergo discipline towards both the Sanghas.

(6) That Bhikkhunîs, as novices, should ask leave for the Upasampadâ ceremony from both the Sanghas.

(7) That Bhikkhunîs should on no pretext revile Bhikkhus.

(8) That Bhikkhus might admonish Bhikkhunîs, but the latter should not admonish the former.

Chullavagga, X, 1, 4.

It was settled that Bhikkhunîs were to recite the Pâtimokkha to Bhikkhunîs, to receive confession of sins from them, and to carry out the disciplinary proceedings against them. Rules were laid down for the conduct and behaviour of Bhikkhunîs down to the minutest details,

and Bhikkhunîs received the ordination much in the same way as Bhikkhus, if free from the same disqualifications.

Thus was established the earliest Order of monks and nuns in the world. Imposing monasteries of stone were made, rules and judicial proceedings were framed and elaborated, holy manuscripts were preserved, copied, and commented upon, and systems of confession, discipline, and penance were developed in India a thousand years before the same things were developed with a remarkable similarity in Europe. "If all this be chance, it is a most stupendous miracle of coincidence; it is in fact ten thousand miracles." * Communication among ancient and mediæval nations was not so slow as we are liable to imagine, and it is impossible not to conclude that the first originators of the monastic system in Europe had some hints from the far East where the traditions and scriptures of a religion, akin to Christianity, were preserved and perpetuated amidst wars, invasions, and troubles by holy celebate monks, retired from the world, and working in their cloisters and cells, unknown beyond the walls of their Vihâras. † But the relations between the Christian and Buddhist Monastic systems will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

* Rhys Davids. Hibbert Lectures, 1881, p. 193.

† "Seeing the destruction of men, the monks of this time assembled,
"And that the faith might last long, they wrote them in books."
Mahâvansa.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HISTORY OF BUDDHISM.

WE have in the preceding chapters briefly examined the nature of the religious revolution which commenced in India in the sixth century before Christ. It remains now to narrate a few facts relating to the spread of that religion in India, and its subsequent decline and extinction.

We are told in the *Chullavagga XI* that, on the death of Gautama, the venerable Mahâkâsyapa proposed, "Let us chant together the Dhamma and the Vinaya." The proposal was accepted, and 499 Arhats were selected for the purpose; and Ânanda, the faithful friend and follower of Gautama, completed the number 500.

"And so the Thera Bhikkhus went up to Râjagriha to chant together the Dhamma and the Vinaya." Upâli, who was a barber before, was questioned as the great authority on Vinaya, and Ânanda, the friend of Gautama, was questioned as the authority on Dhamma (Sutta).

This was the council of Râjagriha held in the year of Gautama's death, 477 B. C., to settle the sacred text and fix it on the memory by chanting it together. We will now speak of the council of Vaisâli.

"A century after the death of the Blessed One, the Bhikkhus of Vaisâli, Vajjians, promulgated at Vaisâli the ten theses :—

"(1) That storing salt in a horn vessel was permissible.

"(2) That the mid-day meal might be eaten when the sun's shadow shewed two fingerbreadths after noon.

"(3) That he who intended to go into the village could begin to eat again after he had once left off.

"(4) That a number of Bhikkhus residing within the same boundary might hold Uposatha separately.

"(5) That a Sangha not at unity within itself might carry out an official act.

"(6) That it was permissible for a Bhikkhu to do anything adopted as a practice by his Upâdhyâya.

"(7) That curds might be eaten by one who had already finished his mid-day meal.

"(8) That it was permissible to drink unfermented toddy.

"(9) That a rug or mat need not be of the limited size prescribed if it had no fringe.

"(10) That it was permissible to receive gold and silver."

Yasa, the son of Kankandaka, a venerable Bhikkhu, protested against these licenses and said to the lay disciples—

"Do, Sirs, nothing of the kind. The use of gold and

silver is not allowed to the Sâkyaputtîya Sâmans.* The Sâkhyaputtîya Sâmans neither allow it to be given to them, nor take charge of it. The Sâkyaputtîya Sâmans are men whose gems and jewelry have been laid aside, and who are without silver and without gold."

The other Bhikkhus of Vaisâli, however, were of a different mind, and received money, and offered Yasa's portion to him,—but he refused to accept it. On this they carried out an *Act of Reconciliation* against him on the charge of upbraiding and reviling his brother Bhikkhus.

But Yasa, nothing daunted, went out among the people, and in an eloquent harangue brought serious charges against the Bhikkhus and defended his own conduct. And the people applauded him and said, "There is but one, sirs, who is a Sâkyaputtîya Sâman,—our master Yasa the son of Kankandaka. All the rest are no Sâmans, neither Sâkyaputtîyas." When the Bhikkhus heard of this they became still more annoyed, and passed an *Act of Suspension* against Yasa for proclaiming a false doctrine among the people.

But the intrepid Yasa was not to be thus beaten. He travelled westwards to Kosambî (west of Allahabad, see map), and "sent messengers to the Bhikkhus of the western country, and of Avanti, and of the southern

* This was the earliest name by which Buddhists were known. It means Srâmanas or Religious Workers who are the followers of the Son of the Sâkya race.

country, saying, 'Let your reverences come! We must take in charge this legal question before what is not Dhamma is spread abroad and what is Dhamma is put aside; before what is not Vinaya is spread abroad and what is Vinaya is put aside.'"

And in response to this invitation the venerable Sambhûta Sânavâsî * came from Ahoganga Hill. And sixty Bhikkhus came from the western country and eighty-eight from Avanti and the southern country, shewing that Buddhism had spread westwards towards Kanouj and southwards towards Malwa and the Deccan. And these western and southern Bhikkhus consulted together and resolved to take the opinion of Revata, a renowned teacher, who had learnt the Âgamas (the first four Nikâyas) and knew by heart the Dhamma (Sutta) the Vinaya and the Mâtikâs (Abhidhamma, or portions of them). They travelled from Soreyya to Sankassa, from Sankassa to Kannakujja (Kânyakubja or Kanouj), thence to Udumbara, to Aggalapura and to Sahajâti, where, at last, they met him. By the advice of Sambhûta Sânavâsî, Yasa consulted Revata here, and Revata assured him that the Bhikkhus of Vaisâli were wrong. And Yasa invited him to the great council which was to be held.

In the meantime the Bhikkhus of Vaisâli heard that Yasa was obtaining support from the Bhikkhus of the

* A well-known name in Buddhist literature, and the hero of the Sânavâsî Avadâna part of the Bodhisatva Avadâna Kalpalatâ.

western provinces, and they too sought for support. They went to the renowned Revata, but Revata declined to receive them. They then bribed an attendant of Revata's and suggested to him, "Let the venerable Thera say thus much at the meeting of the Sangha, 'It is in the regions of the East that the Buddhas are born. It is the Bhikkhus of the East who hold opinions in accord with the Dhamma, whereas the Bhikkhus of the West do not.'" But Revata declined to give his support to the Vaisâli Bhikkhus.

We are also told that a deity from heaven appeared before Sâlha, a venerable teacher, and said to him, "You are quite right Sâlha; it is the Eastern Bhikkhus whose opinions are against the Dhamma and the Western Bhikkhus whose opinions accord therewith."

These details, some of which are legendary, are, however, important, because they shew the true character of the difference in opinion which shook the whole Buddhist world to its centre a century after Gautama's death. The difference was between the Eastern Buddhists of Magadha, and the Western Buddhists of the provinces along the higher course of the Ganges, and also of Malwa and the Deccan. The Eastern opinions were started by the Vajjians of Vaisâli, and if the Vajjians be the same as the Turanian Yu-chi tribe, as has been supposed by Beal, the dispute was mainly [illegible] Turanian Buddhists and Hindu Buddhists. [illegible] further on that the Eastern opinions

were subsequently upheld by the Buddhists of the Northern school, and that the Turanian nations of the world, the Chinese, the Thibetans, &c., belong to this Northern school.

The proceedings in the council are interesting. The Sanga met at Vaisâli, and after much talk,—

"The venerable Revata laid a resolution before the Sangha :—'Let the venerable Sangha hear me. Whilst we are discussing this legal question, there is both much pointless talking, and no sense is clear in any single speech. If it seem meet to the Sangha, let the Sangha settle this question by referring it to a jury.'"

And he proposed four Bhikkhus from the East and four Bhikkhus from the West to form the jury. The Eastern Bhikkhus were Sabbakâmî (a pupil of Ânanda, the faithful companion of Gautama), Sâlha, Kujja-sobhita, and Vâsabha-gamika; and the Western Bhikkhus were Revata, Sambhûta Sânavâsî, Yasa, and Sâmana. The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously that these eight should form the jury.

The ten questions were then put one by one to the jury, and the jury disallowed all the ten licenses for which the Vaisâli Bhikkhus had contended,—except only the sixth license which, it was declared, was allowable in certain cases, and not in other cases.

At this rehearsal, seven hundred Bhikkhus took part, and the rehearsal is called "That of the seven hundred." *Chullavagga XII.* The date of this council of Vaisâli

is stated to be a century after Gautama's death, *i.e.*, 377 B. C.

It must not be supposed, however, this settlement of the ten questions was finally accepted by all parties. The older and more influential members of the order decided the questions, but the majority was against them, and they seceded in large numbers from the bosom of the Orthodox Church, and held what is known as the great council.

"The monks of the great council turned the religion upside down;
"They broke up the original scriptures and made a new recension."

And the Northern Buddhists are the successors of these seceders. Hence the stream of Buddhism flows in two different channels, known as the Northern Buddhism of Nepal, Thibet, and China, and the Southern Buddhism of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam.

It has been well observed that new religious systems, however noble in their intrinsic worth, depend much on external circumstances for their acceptance by mankind. The Christian religion, which made little progress during the first few centuries, was then embraced by Constantine when Roman sway and Roman culture were predominant in Europe, and thus made an easy and rapid progress in the western world. The religion of Mahomet was proclaimed just when the Arabians had no rivals to oppose them in the world,—when the Roman power had declined, and the Feudal power had not been developed in Europe. In India

the ancient Hindu religion had spread with the conquests of the Aryans issuing from the Punjab and subjugating the whole of India. In the same way the religion of Buddha, which made no distinction between the Brâhman and the low born, obtained a sudden access in power, when low born kings ruled in Magadha, and were supreme over all Northern India.

The Sisunâga dynasty, to which Bimbisâra and Ajâtasatru belonged, came to an end about 370 B. C., and Nanda, born of a Sûdra woman, ascended the throne, and he and his eight sons ruled for about fifty years. A defeated rebel under the last of the Nandas escaped from Magadha about 225 B. C., and met Alexander the Great on the banks of the Sutlej. It is said that Alexander was so disgusted with the pride of this adventurer, Chandragupta, that he wished to execute him. After Alexander's departure, Chandragupta gathered round him the hardy warriors of the west, and about 320 B. C., succeeded in having the last Nanda murdered, and ascended the throne of Magadha by the help of Chânakya, the Richelieu of ancient India.

Neither Chandragupta nor his son Bindusâra was a Buddhist, but Bindusâra's successor, who ascended the throne 118 years after the Council of Vaisâli, *i. e.*, about 259 B. C., embraced the popular religion, as Constantine embraced Christianity, and became its most powerful promulgator all over India, and

beyond India. Asoka's name is honored from the Volga to Japan, and from Siberia to Ceylon, and "if a man's fame can be measured by the number of hearts who revere his memory, by the number of lips who have mentioned and still mention him with honour, Asoka is more famous than Charlemagne or Cæsar."* Asoka extended his empire all over Northern India; his pillars are found at Delhi and Allahabad; and rocks bearing his inscriptions are found near Peshawar and Guzerat, between Delhi and Jaipur, and in Orissa.

He held the third Council about the 18th year of his reign, *i. e.*, about 242 B. C. One thousand elders attended the Council, which lasted for nine months under the presidency of Tissa, son of Moggali; and the sacred texts were once more chanted and settled. It should be noticed that the Northern Buddhists are ignorant of this Council at Patna, as they had seceded before this date.

After the close of the Council, Asoka sent missionaries, as we are told in the *Dîpavansa* and the *Mahâvansa*, to Kashmir and Gândhâra, to Mahîsa (near modern Mysore), to Vanavâso (probably Rajputana), to Aparantaka (West Punjab), to Mahârattha, to Yonaloka (Bactria and Greek kingdoms), to Himavanta (central Himalayas), to Subannabhûmi (probably the Malay Peninsula), and to Lankâ (Ceylon). The

* Kopen, quoted in Rhys Davids's *Buddhism. p. 222.*

edicts of Asoka also inform us that his orders were carried out in Chola (Tanjore), Pândya (Madura and Tinnivelli), Satyapura (Satpura range, south of the Narmadâ), Kerala (in South India), Ceylon, and the land of the Greek king Antiochus. And in another edict he claims to have sent embassies to five Greek kings.

We have seen before that Asoka sent his own son to Ceylon, and Mâhinda soon converted the king and spread Buddhism in Ceylon. The scenes of Mâhinda's labours are still visible in Ceylon. Eight miles from the ruined city of Anurâdhapura is the hill of Mihintale, where the Ceylonese king built a monastery for the Indian monks. "Here on the precipitous western side of the hill, under a large mass of granite rock, at a spot which, completely shut out from the world, affords a magnificent view of the plains below, he (Mâhinda) had his study hollowed out and steps cut in the rock, over which alone it could be reached. There also the stone couch which was carved out of the solid rock still exists, with holes, either for curtain rods, or for a protecting balustrade beside it. The great rock effectually protects the cave from the heat of the sun, in whose warm light the broad valley below is basking. Not a sound reaches it from the plain, now one far reaching forest, then full of busy homesteads. * * I shall not easily forget the day when I first entered that lonely cool and quiet chamber, so simple

and yet so beautiful, where more than 2000 years ago the Great Teacher of Ceylon had sat and thought and worked through the long years of his peaceful and useful life." *

After the death of King Tissa, and of Mâhinda, Ceylon was twice overrun and conquered by Dravidian conquerors, who were finally expelled by Watta Gâmini about 88 B. C. And it was then that the Three Pitakas which had been so long preserved by word of mouth, are said to have been reduced to writing, "seeing the destruction of men," as the Dîpavansa has it.

Buddhagosha was the great commentator of Buddhist sacred works, the Sâynâchârya of Buddhism. He was a Brâhman of Magadha, and went to Ceylon and wrote the great commentaries for which he is known. He then went to Burma about 450 A. D., and introduced Buddhism into that country.

Buddhism was introduced in Siam in 638 A. D. Java seems to have received Buddhist missionaries about the same time, and Buddhism seems to have spread thence to Sumatra. All these countries belonged to the Southern Buddhist school.

With regard to Northern Buddhism, we know that it was the prevailing faith in the north-west of India before the commencement of the Christian era. Pushpa Mitra, king of Kashmir, persecuted the

* Rhys Davids's *Buddhism*, *pp.* 230, 231.

Buddhists early in the second century B. C., and Pushpa Mitra's son, Agni Mitra, met the Greeks on the banks of the Ganges. The Greeks under Menander were victorious, and about 150 B. C. extended their conquests as far as the Ganges. But the victory of the Greeks was no loss to Buddhism, and Nâgârjuna, or Nâgasena, the founder of a school of Northern Buddhism, is said to have convinced the Greek king of the truth of Buddhism. We have already in Chapter XV quoted from the Pâli work Milindapanho, a supposed dialogue between the king and the preacher on the philosophy of the five Skandhas.

About the commencement of the Christian era, the Greeks were in their turn conquered in Western India by a Turanian tribe, the Yu-Chi. Kaniska, who belonged to this tribe, began his rule in Kashmir about 10 A. D. His vast empire extended from Cabul, over Yarkand and Khokan, over Kashmir and Rajputana, and the whole of the Punjab, to Guzerat and Sind in the south, and to Agra in the east. He was a zealous Buddhist of the Northern School and held a Council of 500 monks. If this Council had settled the text as the Council of Asoka at Patna had done, we should now have had in our possession the settled scriptures of Northern Buddhism as we have the Three Pitakas of the South. But Kanishka's Council satisfied itself with writing three commentaries only, and Northern Buddhism therefore drifted more and more from the

original religion, and assumed different forms in different countries. It is necessary only to add that Kanishka's Council is unknown to the Southern Buddhists, as Asoka's Council is unkown to the Northern Buddhists. Asvoghosa who has written a life of Buddha for the Northern Buddhists, lived in Kaniska's court. It is supposed that the Christian apostle St. Thomas visited Western India about this time and died a martyr. The king Gondophares of the Christian legend is supposed to be Kanishka of Kandahar.

As early as the second century B. C., Buddhist books were taken to the emperor of China, probably from Kashmir. Another emperor in 62 A. D. procured more Buddhist works, and Buddhism spread rapidly from that date until it became the state religion in the fourth century.

From China Buddhism spread to Korea in 372 A. D., and thence to Japan in 552 A. D., Kochin-China, Formosa, Mongolia, and other places received Buddhism from China in the fourth and fifth centuries; while from Cabul the religion travelled to Yashkand, Balk, Bokhara, and other places.

Buddhism must have penetrated into Nepal early, but the kingdom was becoming Buddhist in the sixth century, and the first Buddhist king of Thibet sent for scriptures from India in 632 A. D.

In India, Buddhism never entirely supplanted orthodox Hinduism, and the two religions remained

side by side, generally in peace for several centuries; and we shall see hereafter that when the Chinese travellers Fa Hian and Houen Tsang came to India in 400 A. D. and 629 A. D., they found both the religions prevailing in the country. At the time of Houen Tsang, however, Buddhism was rather on the decline, and was not the prevailing religion anywhere, except in Kashmir, in the Upper Punjab, in Magadha, and in Guzerat.

It was in the sixth century that Hinduism revived in a new form under the auspices of Vikramâditya the Great; and in the seventh century the Great Kumârila Bhatta, commenced his attacks on Buddhism, and he was followed by a greater writer, Sankarâchârya, who lived in the ninth century A. D. Besides these literary attacks, there was probably some real persecution also, and the discoveries at Sarnâth, near Benares, shew that "all has been sacked and burnt, priest, temples, idols, altogether; and this more than once."* The Rajputs became masters of Northern India by the 10th century A. D., and were new and zealous converts to Hinduism; and Hindu temples rapidly replaced Buddhist churches and monasteries under their regime.

At the time of the Mohammedan invasions, there was still some Buddhism lingering near Benares,

*Major Kitto, in Cunningham's Reports.

in Magadha and in Orissa, besides that of the Jainas of Western India.

Such is the history of Buddhism in India, and the history suggests many serious reflexions to a Hindu. The phenomenon of a new religion taking its rise among an ancient people, and holding its own for a thousand years by the side of the old religion,—until it was suppressed by force and violence,—is unique in the history of the world. What was there in Buddhism which ensured its success among a people so conservative and so keenly fond of forms and ceremonials as the Hindus? And what was there in the Buddhist Monastic Order which gave it its vitality, and made it assume such vast proportions through the length and breadth of India?

Stories like those of Upâli and Sunîta, which we have narrated before, suggest an explanation. Upâli was a barber and Sunîta was a sweeper, and both were probably Sûdras. Hinduism had no room for such as they, however meritorious, however virtuous, however learned they might be. Upâli and Sunîta adopted Buddhism, and they rose to honor, to fame, to priesthood. This is the weakness of Hinduism; it is a weakness which it has inherited from historic causes, and for which its has paid dearly from time to time.

Hindu Aryans, when they first came to India, waged a long and destructive war of centuries against the aborigines before they could conquer Northern India

and establish their religion throughout the land. That the early Hindus would cherish feelings of hostility and contempt against these fierce aborigines was only natural. But times changed, and the millions of aborigines at last submitted themselves to the Aryans.

They adopted the civilization of their conquerors, adopted their religion as far as they were allowed to do, engaged themselves in peaceful industry and trades, acquired riches and wealth, owned villages, and even in some instances acquired the religious knowledge of their masters (*Chhândogya Upanishad*, IV, 2). The time had come when the Sûdras might be formally admitted within the pale of Hinduism, and allowed to learn the Hindu Vedas, practise Hindu rites, and employ Hindu priests. Such a wise concession would have strengthened Hinduism for ever after, and saved it from manifold calamities and disasters. But this was not to be. The Aryan castes were exclusive, and they rigorously kept the Sûdra out. They prohibited him from all religious knowledge and all religious rites, they made unjust and cruel civil and criminal laws against him, and they continued to treat him as an outcast and a slave, long after he had acquired wealth and civilization and power. Such cruelty brought on its own retribution.

Millions of intelligent, virtuous and influential Sûdras sighed for a recognized status in the religious system of India.

The time came, and the man. A scion of a respected Kshatriya house descended from his status, and proclaimed that virtue not caste led to honor.

Thousands at once came over and joined Gautama Buddha, and Buddhism rapidly became a power in the land. Two centuries after Buddha the Maurya dynasty became the masters of Northern India. They were not Kshatriyas, and were therefore looked down upon by the adherents of caste. What wonder that the great Asoka made a clean sweep of caste, and adopted the religion which honored virtue and meritorious acts rather than caste?

The same causes must have continued to operate during the thousand years after the time of Asoka. Those to whom Hinduism gave no status must have been glad to obtain a status in the more catholic religious system. Many a virtuous and intellectual and worthy member of society, whom Manu rigorously excluded from religious rites and observances, found religious consolation, and even learning, fame and distinction within the cloisters of vast monasteries. Indeed, the path to honor was made too easy and too wide; hundreds of thousands became Buddhist priests in order to live an easy and honored and slothful life; and at last Buddhism tottered to its fall on account of its unwieldy body of idle monks and nuns.

Then followed a great political revolution. Ancient nations became enfeebled, ancient dynasties were swept

away, and by the tenth century, the Rajputs had become masters of Northern India. Partly through innate lifelessness, and partly through persecution and violence, Buddhism was swept out of India, and the Hindus once more followed one common religion, the modern or Paurânik Hinduism.

An opportunity now presented itself in the 8th to 10th century after Christ, (as it had come once before in the 8th to 10th century before Christ), to deal with the Sûdras in a catholic and kindly spirit, and to admit them to the benefits of the same common religion and the same common observances. Other nations in the world,—among whom caste is unknown,—have done so. The Greeks and their helot slaves have mingled and formed the modern Greek nation. The patricians of Rome have mixed with the plebians and with foreign tribes, and formed the modern Italian nation. The Normans have mixed with the Saxons in England, and the Franks have mixed with the Celts in France. Even the haughty barons of mediæval Europe have mixed with their colonii and slaves, and formed the modern nations of Europe. Racial distinctions and political distinctions disappear one after another,—but caste distinctions, never!

The opportunity was lost. The Sûdra castes were not admitted within the pale of respectable Hinduism. Once more they were cruelly debarred from the blessings of religious instruction and rites. Aryan priests

would not officiate for them, and they had to appoint Brâhmans of their own castes, (the Varna Brâhmans of modern India) to perform for them religious rites and observances in imitation of the Hindu rites.

More than this,—the Aryan Vaisya caste was now permanently disunited into profession—castes :—the Kâyasthas, the Vaidyas, the goldsmiths, the potters, the weavers and others. They were disinherited of their ancient privilege of religious knowledge and the study of the Veda which now became the monopoly of Brâhmans. And the Brâhmans performed religious rites for these Aryan castes who had formerly the privilege of performing those rites themselves.

Thus there was a double injustice done,—an injustice to the sections of the ancient Vaisya caste who were disinherited of religious learning,—and an injustice to the Sûdra castes who were still left outside the pale of the Hindu religion. The injustice once again brought its own retribution.

Fifty millions of the population of India, formerly belonging to the untutored and uncared for Sûdra castes, have fallen off from the precincts of Hinduism and have embraced the faith of Islam. India of to-day is a house divided against itself.

The immediate successors of Mahomet were fired with a fervid enthusiasm to spread the faith of Islam, and to convert all Kafar nations to the religion of Mahomet. The zeal lasted for a century, and within a

century from the death of Mahomet, his religion had spread from Persia and Khorasan to Spain.

Five Centuries after, this zeal scarcely survived; and when India was conquered in 1194, A.D., the conquerors were more eager to extend their dominions, to increase their revenue, and to build their mosques and palaces, than to convert the Hindus. Some acts of intolerance are recorded, but no organized attempt was made by the Musalman rulers of India to convert the population into the faith of Islam. Wars were waged for the conquest of kingdoms and for the acquisition of wealth, but History records no wars and no systematic efforts to stamp out Hinduism.

The great centres of Musalman power,—the districts of Delhi and Agra, the districts of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golkonda still teem with Hindu population. Royal power was not exerted in an organized way to convert the Kafar millions, and Hindus remained Hindus.

Nevertheless, by a slow process, which history does not record,—but which is well known and universally recognized now,—there was a falling off from Hinduism; there was an accession to the ranks of Islam. Non-Aryan Sûdra castes, to whom Hinduism gave no status or position, fell off by the million, and secured a status and position for themselves by embracing the Mahomnedan religion. A little pressure was required to effect this end, and this little pressure was probably

exerted by local Moulvies and Jaigirdars. Of all the provinces of Northern India Bengal contained the smallest proportion of Aryan population and the largest proportion of Non-Aryan population. And of the fifty millions of the Indian Musalmans the Bengal Musalmans number about twenty millions.

To one who has spent the best part of his life in observing the habits and ways of these low caste Sûdra Hindus, their rapid conversion is not a matter of surprise. Thirty-five centuries ago, the Punjab Aryans debarred the conquered Dâses from all religious observances ; and twenty-five centuries ago, Vasishtha indignantly declared in his *Dharma Sûtra* that the Brâhman who would officiate as priest for a Sûdra would be born again as a village pig ! This feeling of contempt for the poor Sûdra survives unfortunately to the present day. Aryan Brâhmans in Bengal will not officiate as priests for the Sûdra castes, will not accept their offerings or teach them religion ; and Aryan castes like the Kâyasthas and Vaidyas carefully avoid the Sûdra castes, the pariahs of Hinduism. The Sûdra castes hanker after an admission into the inner circle of Hinduism ; they perform Hindu rites and ceremonials through Brâhmans of their own ; they are often more orthodox in their beliefs and practices than the higher castes ; and practically they are Hindus in every sense of the word. But nevertheless, the crystal bar of Hinduism moves not ; and the Sûdra castes, eagerly pressing

forward from all sides, are still debarred from the charmed circle by the adamant wall of caste!*

Later religions are free from this weakness which has crept into Hinduism. To the poorest and humblest of Buddhists, like Upâli and Sunîta, the path was open by virtuous conduct and the acquisition of learning to honor, to distinction, and to priesthood. The poorest Christian peasant or labourer is the inheritor of all the beautiful moral precepts, all the rich consolations which that noble religion can afford to the highest princes and potentates of Europe. He is entitled to the ministration of the highest priest in the land, and in the

* A Brâhman friend of mine informs me that the Jugis of his district, an industrious, well-behaved and respectable body of people, have commenced a movement to prove their status as Hindus, and secure admission within the inner pale of Hinduism. Less respectable Sûdra castes have within my knowledge resolved from time to time to abjure non-Hindu practices in order to come closer to the inner circle of Hinduism. Non-Aryan aboriginal tribes, as they rise in knowledge and civilization, adopt Hindu forms and practices, appoint Brâhmans of their own, and settle down as separate Hindu castes, outside the pale of the recognized Sûdra castes. Hinduism thus assumes the form of a number of concentric circles! The light of purity and sanctity is supposed to shine brightest within the inner circle, composed of the Brâhmans and Aryan castes, and to radiate less and less brightly to the second circle of Sûdra castes, and the third circle of recently Hinduized aboriginal castes.

These remarks do not apply to Southern India, where the Hindus (Brâhmans and all) being of Dravidian stock, the distinction between Aryan castes and Non-Aryan castes does not exist. But even there the sons of the ancient converts to Hinduism look down, I suppose, on those who are now gradually drawing closer to Hinduism.

eye of religion, he is the equal of all other Christians. The humblest Mahomedan cultivator in the remotest corner of Bengal considers himself a member of a great confederation; he is proud of the traditions of Mahomet and of the Arab conquests and civilization; he listens to the teachings of distinguished Moulvies and Maulanas who visit Eastern Bengal from distant parts of India; he looks towards Mecca five times in the day, and utters the same prayer which is prescribed for all Musalmans; and if he can put by some money, he undertakes a visit to that holy place. His place is assured in the great Mahomedan community, and in the eye of religion, he is not inferior to the Sultan of Turkey or the Khedive of Egypt.

The Hindu religious system gives no such assurance and no position of equality to the Sûdra castes. High caste Brâhmans will not preach to him nor perform rites for him. He may conform to Hindu rites and come closer to Hindu practices; but he and his sons for endless generations to come must be content to live in the precincts of Hinduism, looking reverently on the superior sanctity of the charmed circle, and never hoping for admission therein for himself or his remotest descendant. The relations between him and the superior Hindu castes are slight, the cohesion of Hinduism is feeble here. He does what the Brâhmans of *his* caste decide for him, and what the Panchayet of *his* community think to be right and proper. He

remains close to Aryan Hinduism from a feeling of respect and veneration, but he receives no encouragement and no assurance, and the Aryan castes will never receive him as one of their own, as an equal member of a great and common brotherhood. What wonder, when an appeal was made to him in a popular way to turn elsewhere for consolation and an assured status, that he should respond to that appeal. What wonder that twenty millions of the Sûdra Hindus of Bengal, who were feebly attached to Aryan Hinduism by a feeling of admiration and imitation, and whom the Aryan Hindus did not recognize and did not minister to,—should have fallen off from the Hindu ranks and under some persuasion and probably under some pressure, secured for themselves a more assured status by embracing the Mahomedan faith. And if a similar appeal in a popular and intelligible manner be made again to the lower classes of Hindus in Bengal, there can be little doubt that those whom the caste-system so unjustly and cruelly leaves in the shade will probably respond to the appeal again, and some more millions may yet fall off from Hinduism to which they are so feebly attached.

It is natural for men to seek to improve their position, and the Sûdras of India, to whom Hinduism in the past and in the present has been so cruel, have struggled hard to improve their status by accepting Buddhism or Vaishnavism or Islamism or anything

else which has offered them a chance. All these religions have secured most of their converts from the Sûdra castes of India. Hinduism with all its noble traditions, its rich moral lessons, and its ancient wealth of philosophy and deep thought, has continuously suffered in the past by its exclusive caste-system. In the future, a catholic and all-embracing love and a brotherly recognition of equality may re-unite and save; an uncharitable exclusiveness will disunite and destroy.

CHAPTER XIX.

BUDDHISM AND JAINAISM.

THE Jaina religion has long been considered as an offshoot from the religion proclaimed by Gautama Buddha. Houen Tsang who travelled in India in the 7th century after Christ viewed it in this light; and all that we have hitherto known of the tenets of Jainaism justified this supposition.

Both Lassen and Weber denied, and with very good reasons, the independent origin of the Jaina religion, and both the scholars maintained that the Jainas were seceders from Buddhism, and had branched off from the Buddhists, and formed a sect of their own. The scriptures of the Jainas were not reduced to writing till the 5th century A.D., and M. Barth held very plausibly that the traditions of the Jainas as to the origin of their religion were formed of vague recollections of the Buddhist tradition. Jaina architecture in India, too, is of comparatively recent date, and, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, may be said to have commenced centuries after Buddhist architecture had declined and disappeared in India.

Doctors Bühler and Jacobi, however, have recently discovered facts on the basis of which they

contend that Jainaism had its commencement at about the same time as the religion of Gautama, and that the two religions flowed in parallel streams for long centuries, until Buddhism declined, while Jainaism still continues to be a living religion in some parts of India. We will place before our readers the facts and traditions on which this opinion is based.

The Jainas, both Svetâmbaras (with white clothing), and Digambaras (without clothing), allege that Mahâvîra, the founder of the religion, was the son of Siddhârtha of Kundagrâma, and belonged to the clan of Jnâtrika Kshatriyas. We know that Gautama Buddha, when travelling in Kotigrâma, was visited by the courtezan Ambapâli and the Lichchavis. This Kotigrâma is identified with Kundagrâma of the Jainas, and the Nâtikas spoken of in the Buddhist scriptures are identified with the Jnâtrika Kshatriyas. Further, Mahâvîra's mother Trisalâ is said to have been the sister of Kataka, king of Vaisâli, whose daughter was married to the renowned Bimbisâra, king of Magadha.

Mahâvîra, at first called Vardhamâna or Jnâtriputra, was like his father a Kâsyapa. At the age of 28 he assumed the religious Order, and after twelve years of self-mortification, became a Kevalin or Jina, Tîrthakara or Mahâvîra, *i.e.*, a saint and prophet. During the last thirty years of his life he organized his order of ascetics. He was thus a rival of Gautama Buddha, and is mentioned in Buddhist writings under the name of

Nâtaputra as the head of the Niganthas (Nirgranthas, without clothing), already a numerous sect in Vâisali. Mahâvîra died at Pâpâ.

The Jaina tradition goes on to say that in the second century after Mahâvîra's death there was a famine in Magadha. The renowned Chandragupta was then the sovereign of Magadha. Bhadrabâhu with a portion of his Jaina followers left Magadha under pressure of the famine and went to Karnâta. During his absence, the Jainas of Magadha settled their scriptures consisting of the eleven Angas and the fourteen Puvvas which latter are sometimes called the twelvth Anga. On the return of peace and plenty, the exiled Jainas returned to Magadha; but within these years a difference in custom had arisen between those who had stayed in Magadha, and those who had gone to Karnâta. The former had assumed a white dress, and the latter adhered to the old rule of absolute nakedness. The former were thus called Svetâmbaras, the latter were called Digambaras. The scriptures which had been settled by the former were not accepted by the latter, and for the Digambaras therefore there are no Angas. The final division between the two sects is said to have taken place in 79 or 82 A.D.

In course of time the scriptures of the Svetâmbaras fell into disorder, and were in the danger of becoming extinct. It was necessary to record them into writing, and this was done at the Council of Vallabhi (in

Guzrat) in 454 or 467 A.D. The operations of the Council resulted in the redaction of the Jaina canon, in the form in which we find it at the present day.

Besides these facts and traditions, inscriptions have been discovered on the pedestals of Jaina statues at Mathura which, according to Dr. Bühler (who first discovered this evidence), proves that the Svetâmbara sect existed in the first century A.D. The inscriptions are dated according to the era of Kanishka king of Kashmir, *i.e.*, the Saka Era, 78 A.D. One of the inscriptions dated 9 of the Era (and therefore corresponding to 87 A.D.), states that the statue was erected by a Jaina lay-woman Vikatâ.

Such is the substance of the evidence on which it is contended that the Jaina religion is co-eval with Buddhism, and not an offshoot from that religion. From the mention of "Nâtaputra" and of the "Nirgranthas" in the Buddhist scriptures, it is reasonable to suppose that the Jaina sect of unclad ascetics had its origin too about the same time. Indeed we have repeatedly stated before that various sects of ascetics lived in India, at the time when Gautama Budha lived and taught and led *his* sect of ascetics. What we find it difficult to accept is that the Jaina religion, as we have it now, was professed by the Nirgranthas of the sixth century B.C. The story that the Jaina canon was settled in a Council

* Dr. Hœrnle's Introduction to his translation of the Uvâsagadasâo.

in Magadha at the time of Chandragupta is probably a pure myth; and even if that story was true, the canon settled in the third century B.C., would be very different from the canon recorded with fifth century A.D. For there can be little doubt that the early tenets of the first Nirgranthas have long since been modified, and completely transformed; and that the more cultured section of that body who adopted a white garment, continuously borrowed their maxims and precepts, their rules and customs, their legends and traditions from Buddhism, which was the prevailing religion of India after the third century B.C. Thus the Jainas drifted more and more towards Buddhism for long centuries, until they had adopted the substance of the Buddhist religion as their own, and very little of the early tenets of the unclad Nirgranthas was left. It was then,—in the fifth century A.D.,—that their scriptures were recorded, and it is no wonder that those scriptures appear like a copy of the Buddhist scriptures recorded *six centuries before*. Admitting then the independent origin of the Nirgranthas in the sixth century B.C., we hardly think Houen Tsang was very far wrong, when he described the Jaina religion, as he saw it in the seventh century (and as we see it in the present day), to be an offshoot from Buddhism.

Among the other sects of ascetics which flourished side by side with the Buddhists and the Nirgranthas in the sixth century B.C., the Âjîvakas founded by

Gosâla were the best known in their day. Asoka names them in his inscriptions, along with the Brâhmans and Nirgranthas. Gosala was therefore a rival of Buddha and Mahâvîra; but his sect has now ceased to exist.

It follows from what has been stated before that the religious tenets of the Jainas differ but slightly from that of the Buddhists. Like the Buddhists, the Jainas have their monastic Order, and they refrain from killing animals, and praise retirement from the world. In some respects they even go further than the Buddhists, and maintain that not only animals and plants, but the smallest particles of the elements, fire, air, earth, and water are endowed with life or jîva. For the rest, the Jainas, like the Buddhists, reject the Veda and are agnostics; they accept the tenets of *Karma* and of *Nirvâna*, and believe in the transmigration of souls. They also believe in 25 Tîrthakaras, as the early Buddhists believed in 24 Buddhas who had risen before Gautama Buddha.

The sacred books or Âgamas of the Jainas consist of seven divisions among which the Angas form the first and most important division. The Angas are eleven in number, of which the Âchârânga Sûtra setting forth the rules of conduct of Jaina monks has been translated by Dr. Jacobi, and the Upâsakadasâh setting forth the rules of conduct of Jaina laymen has been translated by Dr. Hœrnle.

We will now present our readers with some extracts relating to the life of Mahâvîra from the Âchârânga Sûtra. Hermann Jacobi, the learned translator of the work, assigns to it the third or fourth century B.C., but from the verbose and artificial language of the work, many readers will be inclined to assign to it a date as many centuries after Christ. The entire work reads like a very distant and very perverted imitation of the simple Buddhist accounts of the life of Gautama.

"When the Kshatriyânî Trisalâ having seen these fourteen illustrious great dreams, awoke, she was glad, pleased and joyful, * * * rose from her couch and descended from the footstool. Neither hasty nor trembling, with a quick and even gait like that of a royal swan, she went to the couch of the Kshatriya Siddhârtha. There she awakened the Kshatriya Siddhârtha, addressing him with kind, pleasing, amiable, tender, illustrious, beautiful, lucky, blest, auspicious, fortunate, heart-going, heart-easing, well-measured, sweet and soft words * * * 'O beloved of the gods, I was just now on my couch * * * and awoke after having seen the fourteen dreams, to wit, an elephant, &c. What, to be sure, O my Lord, will be the happy result portended by these fourteen illustrious great dreams?' * * * He grasped the meaning of those dreams with his own innate intelligence and intuition, which were preceded by reflection, and addressing the Kshatriyâni

Trisalâ with kind, pleasing, &c., words, spoke, thus: 'O beloved of the gods, you have seen illustrious dreams, &c. * * * you will give birth to a lovely, handsome boy, who will be the ensign of our family, the lamp of our family, the crown of our family, the frontal ornament of our family, the maker of our family's glory, the sun of our family, the stay of our family, the maker of our family's joy and fame, the tree of our family, the exalter of our family. * * *

"Surrounded by many chieftains, satraps, kings, princes, knights, sheriffs, heads of families, ministers, chief ministers, astrologers, counsellors, servants, dancing masters, citizens, traders, merchants, foremen of guilds, generals, leaders of caravans, messengers and frontier-guards, he — the lord and chief of men, a bull and a lion among men, shining with excellent lustre and glory, lovely to behold like the moon emerging from a great white cloud in the midst of the flock of the planets and of brilliant stars and asterisms— left the bathing-house, entered the exterior hall of audience and sat down on his throne with the face towards the east. * * * 'Quickly, O beloved of the gods, call the interpreters of dreams who well know the science of prognostics with its eight branches, and are well versed in many sciences besides'! * * * When the interpreters of dreams had heard and perceived this news from the Kshatriya Siddhârtha, they — glad, pleased, and joyful, &c. —— fixed the dreams in their minds, en-

tered upon considering them, and conversed together. * * *

"In that night which the venerable ascetic Mahâvîra was born, there was a divine lustre originated by many descending and ascending gods and goddesses, and in the universe, resplendent with one light, the conflux of gods occasioned great confusion and noise. * * * Before the venerable ascetic Mahâvîra had adopted the life of a householder (*i.e.*, before his marriage), he possessed supreme, unlimited, unimpeded knowledge and intuition. The venerable ascetic Mahâvîra perceived with this his supreme unlimited knowledge and intuition that the time for his Renunciation had come. He left his silver, he left his gold, he left his riches, corn, majesty, and kingdom, his army, grain, treasure, storehouse, town, seraglio, and subjects; he quitted and rejected his real, valuable property, such as riches, gold, precious stones, jewels, pearls, conches, stones, corals, rubies, &c.; he distributed presents through proper persons. He distributed presents among indigent persons. * * * The venerable ascetic Mahâvîra for a year and a month wore clothes; after that time he walked about naked, and accepted the alms in the hollow of his hand. For more than twelve years the venerable ascetic Mahâvîra neglected his body and abandoned the care of it; he with equanimity bore, underwent, and suffered all pleasant or unpleasant occurrences arising from divine powers, men or animals.

* * * During the thirteenth year, in the second month of summer, in the fourth fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Vaisâkha, on its tenth day, when the shadow had turned towards the east and the first wake was over, on the day called Suvrata, in the Muhûrta called Vijaya, outside of the town Grimbhikagrâma on the bank of the river Rijupâlikâ, not far from an old temple, in the field of the householder Sâmâga, under a sal tree, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalgunî, (the Venerable One) in a squatting position with joined heels exposing himself to the heat of the sun, after fasting two and a half days without drinking water, being engaged in deep meditation, reached the highest knowledge and intuition, called Kevala, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete, and full. * * *

"In that period, in that age the venerable ascetic Mahâvîra stayed the first rainy season in Asthikagrâma, three rainy seasons in Champâ and Prishtichampâ, twelve in Vaisâli and Vanijagrâma, fourteen in Râjagriha and the suburb of Nâlanda, six in Mithilâ, two in Bhadrikâ, one in Alabhikâ, one in Panitabhûmi, one in Srâvasti, one in the town of Pâpâ, in king Hastipâla's office of the writers: that was his very last rainy season. In the fourth month of that rainy season, in the seventh fortnight, in the dark (fortnight) of Kârtika, on its fifteenth day, in the last night, in the town of Pâpâ, in king Hastipâla's office of the writers,

the venerable ascetic Mahâvîra died, went off, quitted the world, cut asunder the ties of birth, old age, and death; became a Siddha, a Buddha, a Mukta, a maker of the end (to all misery), finally liberated, freed from all pains."

The Upâsakadasâh as its name indicates details the duties of Jain laymen in 10 lectures. The first lecture details the vows and observances that must regulate a layman's conduct; the next four lectures detail various kinds of temptations arising from external persecutions; the sixth lecture treats of temptations from internal doubts, and specially from the antagonism of other religions like that of the Âjîvakas founded by Gosâla; the seventh shews the superiority of the Jaina religion; the eighth dwells on the temptations to sensual enjoyments; and the ninth and tenth give examples of a quiet and peaceful career of a faithful Jaina layman.

We are unable to make room for extracts from Dr. Hœrnle's translation of this work, but we will glean some facts from the portion which treats of Ânanda's conversion, which will be interesting, as detailing many articles of luxury in which a Hindu house-holder indulged in the olden times. Ânanda does not become a monk, but only becomes a Jaina layman, and he therefore takes the five lesser vows, *anu-vratâni*, in contrast with the *mahâ vratâni* of monks, as also the disciplinary vows.

Ânanda renounces all gross ill-usage of living beings, all gross lying, and all gross theft. He contents himself with one wife, saying, "excepting with one woman, Sivanandâ my wife, I renounce every other kind of sexual intercourse." He limits himself to the possession of a *treasure* of four kror measures of gold deposited in a safe place, of a *capital* of four kror measures of gold put out on interest, and of a well stocked *estate* of the value of four kror measures of gold. Similarly he limits himself to the possession of four herds each consisting ten thousand head of cattle, to the possession of 500 ploughs, and land at the rate of 100 *nivartanas* for each plough, to the possession of five hundred carts for foreign traffic and five hundred carts for home traffic, and lastly, to the possession of four boats for foreign traffic and four boats for home use. The above enumeration gives us a very fair idea of a Hindu capitalist, land-owner, money-lender, and merchant of olden days,—a Seth, such as Jains have always been in India. We now turn to the articles of household use and luxury.

Ânanda limits himself to one kind of red-tinted bathing towel, to one kind of green stick for tooth cleaning, to one kind of fruit, the milky pulp of Âmalaka, to two kinds of oil as unguents, to one kind of scented powder, to eight *gharas* of washing water, to one kind of clothes, *viz.*, "a pair of cotton clothes;" to perfumes made of aloes, saffron, sandel, and similar substances, to one kind of

flower, the white lotus, to two kinds of ornaments, *viz.*, ear-pendants and a finger ring engraved with his name, and to certain kinds of incense.

With regard to food he limits himself in his use of beverages to a decoction of pulses or rice, and in the use of pastry to such as are fried in clarified butter or turned in sugar. He confines himself to boiled rice of the cultivated varieties, to *dâl* made of *kalai*, *mug* or *mâs*, to clarified butter produced from cow's milk in autumn, to certain kinds of curry, to one kind of liquor made from *pâlangâ*, to plain relishes or sauces, to rain water as drinking water, and lastly, to betel with its five spices. Many of our readers will be inclined to think that our friend Ânanda with his broad acres and large trade, and with the articles of use and luxury left to him was not so badly off after all.

CHAPTER XX.

BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

THE moral precepts and teachings of Buddhism have so much in common with those of Christianity that some connexion between the two systems of religion has long been suspected. Candid inquirers, who have paid attention to the history of India and of the Greek world during the centuries immediately preceding the Christian Era, and noted the intimate relationship which existed between those countries, in scientific, religious, and literary ideas, found no difficulty in believing that Buddhist ideas and precepts penetrated into the Greek world before the birth of Christ. The discovery of Asoka's inscription of Girnar, which tells us that that enlightened Emperor of India made peace with five Greek kings, and sent Buddhist missionaries to preach his religion in Syria, explains to us the process by which the ideas were communicated. Researches into the doctrines of the Therapeuts in Egypt and of the Essenes in Palestine leave no doubt even in the minds of such devout Christian thinkers as Dean Mansel, that the movement which those sects embodied was due to Buddhist missionaries, who visited Egypt and Palestine within two generations of the time of Alex-

ander the Great. Some moderate Christians admit that Buddhism in Syria was a preparation, a "fore-runner" (to quote the word used by Professor Mahaffy) of the religion preached by Jesus over two centuries later. A few writers like Bunsen, Seydel, and Lillie go further and maintain that the Christian religion has sprung directly from Buddhism. We do not maintain this opinion, but there can be little doubt, on the facts now before us, that Christian legends and traditions, forms, institutions, and moral precepts are to a great extent based on Buddhism.

The myths connected with the birth of Buddha are strangely similar to those relating to the birth of Jesus. In both the cases there was a divine annunciation, both to the father and to the mother of the child, and both the children were miraculously born, or virgin-born. "By the consent of the King," says the Lalita Vistâra, "the Queen was permitted to lead the life of a maiden, and not of a wife, for the space of thirty-two months." We are not aware, however, that this myth is to be found in the older Pâli records of the southern Buddhists.

As in the case of Jesus, a star presided at the birth of Gautama, and the star was Pushya, identified by Colebrooke with δ of cancer. Asita, the Simeon of Buddhist story, came to Gautama's father and wished to see the divine child. "The Raja," says the Pâli version,* "caused the infant richly clad to be brought

* Turnour, *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII, Quoted by Lillie.

that he (the infant) might do homage to the Brâhman." The sage saw the child and burst into a flood of tears. On being asked the reason, he replied, "Because I am old and stricken in years and shall not live to see the glory of his Buddhahood. Therefore do I weep."

We do not attach much importance to the good omens which are said to have hailed the auspicious event in the one case as in the other. At Buddha's birth "the blind received their sight as if from very longing to behold his glory; the deaf heard the noise; the dumb spake one with another; the crooked became straight; the lame walked; all prisoners were freed from bonds and chains." * Such happy events are narrated by the followers of all religions as attending on the birth of their Great Masters.

We have commented before on the close and remarkable resemblance between the temptation of Gautama and the temptation of Jesus. The story of the temptation is told in a poetic garb in the Lalita Vistâra, but even as told in the southern records, it has a curious resemblance with the biblical story. Like Jesus, Gautama had twelve disciples. "Only in my religion," said he shortly before his death, "can be found the twelve great disciples who practise the highest virtues, and excite the world to free itself from its torments." † And the same missionary spirit impelled the preacher

* Rhys Davids. *Birth stories.* P. 64.

† Bigandet. P. 301.

of Kapilavastu and the preacher of Bethlehem. "Depart each man in a different direction," said Gautama, "no two on the same road. Let each preach *Dharma* to all men without exception." *

We will see hereafter that the same catholic spirit to publish the truth among men of all persuasions, among believers and among unbelievers, marks the edicts of Asoka and impelled that great emperor to send preachers to the ends of the earth in the third century, B. C. And Jesus too worked in the same spirit and spake thus, "Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And as ye go, preach, saying the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

Of the moral precepts of Gautama we have said enough in a previous chapter. To do good unto those who smite you, to love those who hate and persecute you, to relinquish the world for righteousness ;—these are the cardinal principles of Buddhism and of Christianity ; these are sublime precepts which were proclaimed on earth by Gautama and by Jesus. The very phraseology of Gautama's teachings has a remarkable resemblance with those of Jesus. The utterances of Gautama, which we find in the Dhammapada, must have been carried by pious Buddhists to the ends of the earth, and were current as household words among the Essenes of Palestine, when the great founder of Christianity lived and taught.

* Bigandet. P. 126.

Baptism is common to Buddhism and to Christianity, and indeed John the Baptist adopted the rite of baptism from the Essenes who admittedly represented the Buddhist movement in Palestine, before the birth of Christ. When Jesus was a young preacher in Galilee, the fame of John the Baptist reached him. Jesus went to John and lived with him, and no doubt learnt from John much of the precepts and teachings of the Essenes, and adopted the rite of baptism which John had practised so long.

Baptism has since been accepted as a fundamental rite in Christendom. A Christian acknowledges the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost at baptism, while a Buddhist, after *abhisheka*, acknowledges Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. Mr. Arthur Lillie contends that the Father and the Son of the Christian doctrine represent the Buddha and the Dharma of the Buddhist doctrine, and that the Holy Spirit and Sangha represent the same primal idea of "union." Many other Christian writers and travellers have detected a marked resemblance between the Buddhist Trinity and the Christian Trinity, but we are unable to give an opinion on this subject.

We pass by the subject of miracles, which are said to have been performed both by Gautama and by Jesus. And we also pass by Gautama's parables, of which we have said something in a previous chapter, and which have such a remarkable resemblance with Christian para-

bles. Renan, who is so unwilling to admit Buddhist influence on the development of the Christian faith, nevertheless states that there was nothing in Judaism which could have furnished Jesus with a model for the parable-style. On the other hand, "we find in the Buddhist books parables of exactly the same tone and the same character as the Gospel parables." *

We will make a passing allusion to the theory of metempsychosis, which was first originated in India, and borrowed from the Hindus by Pythagoras in the 6th century, B. C. Buddhists accepted the belief, and the Jews of the time of Jesus Christ universally held the doctrine under the name of *Gilgal*. "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" (John, ix. 3.) If a man could be born blind for sin committed by himself, that sin must have been committed in a previous life. The doctrine of resurrection has something in common with the Hindu theory of transmigration of souls, and the doctrine of original sin is said by some writers to be a modification of the same idea, and of the Buddhist doctrine of *Karma*. Similarity in such beliefs, however, shews that ancient nations thought much in the same way, or borrowed their ideas from one another; it does not shew that the early Christians were indebted to the Buddhists in particular.

It is when we come from such doctrinal matters to monastic forms, rites, and ceremonies, that we are struck

* *Life of Jesus* (Translation), p. 136.

with the most remarkable resemblance, a resemblance which (even Dr. Rhys Davids admits) would be more than miraculous if it was fortuitous.

Dr. Fergusson, from whose book on Indian and Eastern Architecture, we will draw much valuable information later on, makes some remarks about Buddhist cave-temples which are suggestive. Speaking of the cave-temple of Karli, the date of which he fixes at 78 B. C., he says: "The building resembles to a great extent an early Christian Church in its arrangements, consisting of a nave and side aisles, terminating in an apse or semidome, round which the aisle is carried. * * As a scale for comparison, it may be mentioned that its arrangements and dimensions are very similar to those of the choir of Norwich Cathedral, and of the Abbaye aux Hommes at Caen, omitting the outer aisles in the latter building. Immediately under the semidome of the apse, and nearly where the altar stands in Christian Churches is placed the Dagopa."

But the architectural similarity sinks into insignificance in comparison with the resemblance in rituals between the Buddhist and the Roman Catholic church. A Roman Catholic Missionary, Abbé Huc, was much struck by what he saw in Thibet. "The crozier, the mitre, the dalmatic, the cope or pluvial, which the grand llamas wear on a journey, or when they perform some ceremony outside the temple, the service with a double choir, psalmody, exorcisms, the censer swinging

on five chains and contrived to be opened or shut at will, benediction by the llamas with the right hand extended over the heads of the faithful, the chaplet, sacerdotal celebacy, lenten retirements from the world, the worship of saints, fasts, processions, litanies, holy water, these are the points of contact between the Buddhists and ourselves." Mr. Arthur Lillie, from whose book the above passage is quoted, remarks, "the good Abbé has by no means exhausted the list, and might have added confessions, tonsure, relic worship, the use of flowers, lights and images before shrines and altars, the sign of the cross, the Trinity in Unity, the worship of the Queen of Heaven, the use of religious books in a tongue unknown to the bulk of the worshippers, the aureole or nimbus, the crown of saints and Buddhas, wings to angels, penance, flagellations, the flabellum or fan, popes, cardinals, bishops, abbots, presbyters, deacons, the various architectural details of the Christian temple. To this list Balfour's Cyclopædia of India adds amulets, medicines, illuminated missals, and Mr. Thomson (Illustrations of China, vol. II, p. 18), baptism, the mass, requiems." *

It is not possible for us to go into the details of all these rites and ceremonies, or to point out how the whole fabric and structure of the Roman Catholic system seems like a copy of the Buddhist system. So strong is the resemblance, that the first Christian missionaries

* *Buddhism in Christendom*, p. 202.

who travelled in Thibet and China believed and recorded their impression that the Buddhist church had borrowed their rites and forms from the Roman Catholic church. We will shew however in our next Book that the Buddhists excavated many of their great church edifices in India before Jesus Christ was born; that a vast monastery, a wealthy church, and a learned university flourished in Nâlanda, near Patna, before similar church edifices and monasteries were seen in Europe; and that as Buddhism declined in India, gorgeous Buddhist rites, ceremonials, and institutions were copied from Nâlanda and other places by Buddhists in Thibet, China, and other countries, before Europe had yet recovered from the invasions of barbarous races, or had developed her Feudal civilization or Feudal Church system. A few forms and rites may in later days have been borrowed by Buddhist nations from Europe, though even this is doubtful; but the entire structure of church government and church institutions—in so far as there is resemblance between the two systems,—was borrowed from the east by the west, not from the west by the east.

But we are not concerned here with the later forms and institutions of the Buddhist church. The glory of Buddhism consists not in the pompous ceremonials which were witnessed in Nâlanda and Thibet, and which were reproduced after several centuries in Rome, but in the moral precepts of surpassing beauty which

were preached in Benares and Râjagriha by Gautama himself, and were repeated after five centuries in Jerusalem. "Never has any one," says M. Renan, "so much as he (Jesus) made the interests of humanity predominate in his life over the littlenesses of self-love. * * There never was a man, Sâkya Muni, perhaps excepted, who has to this degree trampled under foot family, the joys of this world, and all temporal care." We have indicated how these precepts were communicated to the west by the missionaries of Asoka the Great; we will now mention a few facts which will explain how they were received and how they spread.

Dean Mansel admits that the philosophy and rites of the Therapeuts of Alexandria were borrowed from the Buddhist missionaries who visited Egypt within two generations of the time of Alexander the Great. Philosophers like Schelling and Schopenhaner, and scholars like Lassen support this view. Dean Milman maintains that the Therapeuts sprang from the contemplative fraternities of India.

The Essenes of Palestine were the same sect as the Therapeuts of Egypt.*

They alike adopted the Buddhist practice of enforced vegetarianism. They refused to go to the temple sacrifices at Jerusalem. They practised

* "The Therapeutœ of Philo are a branch of the Essenes. Their name appears to be but a Greek translation of that of the Essenes."—Renan's *Life of Jesus*.

celebacy and believed in the eight stages of progress answering to the eight-fold path of the Buddhists. They believed in baptism answering to the Buddhist *Abhisheka.* We have said before that John the Baptist adopted the Essene custom of baptism. It is maintained by some writers that the Baptist was an Essene himself.*

Pliny, the Naturalist, who flourished between 23 and 79 A. D., thus describes the Essenes : " On the western shore (of the Dead Sea), but distant from the sea far enough to escape its noxious breezes, dwelt the Essenes. They are an Eremite clan, one marvellous beyond all others in the whole world, without any women, with sexual intercourse entirely given up, without money ; and the associates of palm trees. Daily is the throng of those who crowd about them renewed, men resorting to them in numbers, driven through weariness of existence and the surges of ill fortune in their manner of life. Thus it is that through thousands of ages, incredible to relate, their society, in which no one is born, lives on perennial." (Hist. Nat., V, 17.)†

This is a most remarkable piece of evidence. It is the evidence of an impartial and cultured Roman, describing the progress which eastern ideas and institutions had made in Palestine at the time of Jesus Christ.

* See Bunsen's *Angel Messiah of Buddhists, Essenes and Christians,* 149.

† Quoted from *Buddhism in Christendom.*

We see in the passage given above the result which Buddhist missionaries had achieved in Palestine in three centuries from the time of Asoka. They had founded a sect there answering to the Buddhists of India, and the sect followed the same practices, engaged themselves in the same speculations, and lived the same abstemious and celebate life as the Indian Buddhists. The heritage of Gautama's moral precepts was not lost on them; they revered it and repeated it and spread it among the pious and thoughtful among the Jews.

We are content to leave the matter here. We have proved that Buddhism was preached in Syria in the 3rd century B. C. We have proved that Buddhism was received in Palestine and Egypt, and that Buddhists under different names lived in those countries when Christ was born, and have been described in the impartial pages of Pliny. We have proved that Christ came in contact with their rites and teachings through John, as well as through various other channels probably. And, lastly, we have shewn the remarkable resemblance between Christian moral precepts and Buddhist precepts in sentiment and in language, between Christian resignation of the world and Buddhist resignation, between Christian and Buddhist rites and legends and forms. Is this coincidence fortuitous? Let each reader form his own opinion on the subject.

Some writers go so far as to maintain that early

Christianity was Essenism, *i. e.*, Buddhism as it prevailed in Palestine. We do not agree in this opinion. Christianity in doctrinal matters is little indebted to Buddhism,—Christ having adopted the national Monotheistic faith of the Jews, as Gautama had adopted the national beliefs of the Hindus in Transmigration and final Beatitude. Christianity as an ethical and moral advance on the religions of antiquity is based undoubtedly on Buddhism, as preached in Palestine by the Essenes when Jesus was born.

Here we close our brief review of the Rationalistic Period, which is certainly the most brilliant period of Hindu culture and civilization. It is curious that this period coincides with the most brilliant period of Greek culture; and the coincidence in dates naturally suggests a comparison between the two gifted Aryan nations of the ancient world, the Greeks and the Hindus.

The comparison is certainly to the advantage of the Greeks in some respects. The Hindus, proud of their ancient civilization, which was developed in India, seldom cared to learn from nations outside India. The Greeks who borrowed their early civilization from surrounding countries,—from Phœnicia, Asia Minor, Assyria, Egypt, and even from Persia and India,—never forgot the advantages of cultivating the acquaintance of their neighbours, and learning whatever they had to teach. The Hindus evolved laws and sciences and

tems of religion from their own ideas; the Greeks velled and learnt, and soon carried their civilization l arts to a high state of perfection. India boasts of ater originality. Greece is proud of a more perfect ture, a more practical and rational and comprehen- e knowledge of things in general.

n departments of knowledge which depend upon *lection* more than on *observation*, the Hindus remain- unrivalled and unapproached. The science of lan- age and grammar was perfected in India, and the eeks never equalled the Hindus. A rigid system mental philosophy was developed in India such as Greeks never equalled. And systems of religion d morality were discovered in India to which the eeks can shew no parallel. On the other hand the eeks gathered stores of knowledge from all the ilized world and soon dealt with them with a practi- l ability and a comprehensive and many-sided intel- ct which experience and observation helped to de- lop. They took note of passing events and wrote cellent histories. They developed a maritime com- erce and fringed the shores of the Mediterranean ith their colonies. They fought their battles, con- uered territories and developed a system of govern- ent on a sound popular basis. They carried sculp- ure and architecture to a state of perfection which o nation in the world has ever equalled, before or ince. And, lastly, they based their sciences on observa-

tion of facts, and thus laid the foundation of the modern inductive sciences. Greece had no rigid mental philosopher like Kapila, but India had no scientist with an intellect so great and comprehensive, so observant and many-sided as that of Aristotle.

Both the Greeks and the Hindus declined after an age of exceptionally brilliant culture, and the mediæval Greeks were no more capable of keeping up their ancient culture than the Hindus under the Musalman rule were able to preserve ancient Hindu learning. But other nations have volunteered to keep up the heritage left by the Greeks. The Romans, the Arabs, and the modern nations of Europe, have successively taken up Greek culture as the basis of their own learning and civilization. Ancient Hindu works have come down to us in an imperfect and mutilated state, while ancient Greek works have received the attention and the care of all the civilized races of the world since the downfall of Greece. India suffers therefore from a double disadvantage in this comparison. Her ancient epics and philosophy and other works have come down to us in a less perfect state than those of the Greeks; and in the second place they do not receive the same consideration as Greek works in the hands of modern nations who are so immediately indebted to the Greeks for their own civilization.

And yet if modern critics could lay aside their predilections, and judge impartially between the Hindus

and the Greeks, they would certainly pause before giving a verdict. For the great discoveries which go to form modern civilization, the world is indebted to the Hindus more than to the Greeks. Astronomy and Geometry were invented in India and then cultivated in Greece. Arithmetic and Grammar were invented in India, and never thoroughly perfected in Greece. Gautama and Vasishtha had recorded their elaborate laws before the rude laws of Solon and Draco were known in Greece. Kapila's philosophy is modern philosophy and has no parallel in Greece, and logic too was probably invented in India and then perfected by Aristotle. And, lastly, Greek travellers, familiar with the civilized administration of Greek rulers, were nevertheless struck by the organized and thorough and far-reaching administration of Hindu kings, and the polished and humane manners of the Hindu people.

But far above all this,—the noble system of Christian ethics and morality which is the pride of modern civilization had its "forerunner" in India, not in Greece. Churches for service and devotion, as distinguished from temples for idols, were known in ancient India, not in Greece. And that monastic system which for a thousand years has given a refuge in Europe to the weak and the oppressed, the thoughtful and the learned, from a rude and disturbed world, which has fostered universities and science and learning, and which to this day prevails over one-half of Christendom,—

was first known and first organized in India, not i
Greece.

It is not given to the same nation to excel in a
things, and among the Aryan nations of the earl
the Hindus and the Greeks shared between them th
honor of developing and spreading early culture. Th
Greeks were an active people, and were by their ve
position fitted to spread early civilization all aroun
them; they founded Greek colonies and spread Gree
culture over Southern Europe and Western Asia.
is not likely that this service in the cause of civilizatio
will ever be forgotten. But it is necessary also
remember that much of this culture was originate
elsewhere. The Hindus were passive and home-lovin
thoughtful and contemplative, and were peculiarly fitte
to develop great ideas, to think out new discoverie
and to invent new sciences and departments of knov
ledge. And as the researches of scholars are disclo
ing the origin of modern institutions and scienc
we are gradually learning with a joyful surprise h
much the world owes for its present store of knowled
and civilization to the contemplative Hindus of a p
age.

It may almost be asserted without much exagg
tion that Greece perfected and spread ancient Ary
culture,—India originated it.

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